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An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

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'Text' of NATO Ultimatum to Bosnian Serbs

AU2204185794 Paris AFP in English 1836 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 22 (AFP)—Here follows the text of the statement issued here Friday by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation threatening air strikes against Bosnian Serbs attacking the Bosnian town of Gorazde.

The council:

1. Reaffirmed the readiness of the alliance, as stated in the January NATO summit, to support the UN in its efforts to protect Gorazde as authorised under UN Security Council Resolutions 824, 836 and 844, noting also Security Council Resolution 913.

2. Reaffirmed its support for a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and called for the intensification of the efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement; and in this context welcomed the coordination and close consultation between the United States, the Russian Federation, the United Nations and the European Union, with the aim of bringing together current diplomatic initiatives.

3. Reiterated its determination to carry out its previous decisions in support of UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) as it carries out its overall mandate.

4. Demanded strict respect for the safety of UNPROFOR and other UN and relief agency personnel throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and for the right of free access of all these personnel to UN-designated safe areas, and reaffirmed NATO's readiness to provide close air support in the event Bosnian Serb forces attack UNPROFOR or other UN and relief agency personnel throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina or forcibly interfere with the conduct of their mandate.

5. Responding to the request contained in the UN Secretary General's letter of 18th April;

6. Agreed that Bosnian Serb actions in and around the city of Gorazde meet the conditions in relation to civilian centres identified by NATO on 2nd August 1993 as grounds for air strikes.

7. Agreed that unless:

a. Bosnian Serb attacks against the safe area of Gorazde (UN Security Council Resolution 824, Paragraph 3) immediately cease;

b. Bosnian Serb forces pull back three kilometres from the centre (to be specifically identified forthwith by NATO military authorities in consultation with UNPROFOR) of the city by 0001 GMT on 24th April 1994; and

c. From 0001 GMT on 24th April 1994 United Nations forces, humanitarian relief convoys and medical assistance teams are free to enter Gorazde unimpeded, and medical evacuations are permitted, CINCSOUTH (Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces in Southern Europe) is authorised to conduct air strikes against Bosnian Serb heavy weapons and other military targets within a 20 km radius of the centre of Gorazde (but inside the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina) in accordance with the procedural arrangements worked out between NATO and UNPROFOR following the council's decisions of 2nd and 9th August 1993.

8. Called on the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina not to undertake offensive military action from within the safe area of Gorazde.

9. Invited the secretary general to inform the secretary general of the United Nations of this decision.

Further Reportage on Crans Montana Forum

'Arafat Addresses Forum 21 Apr

AU2204135594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1427 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Speech by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat to the Crans Montana Forum in Bucharest—live, in Arabic with simultaneous translation into Romanian]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman of the conference: Please allow me to express my joy and satisfaction with my participation in this important international colloquium which reunites the elite of politicians, thinkers, and economic experts from various countries and continents.

The importance of this colloquium lies in the fact that it is a rostrum from which we will exchange ideas and we will deepen....[interpreter fades out] As you know, an international forum was organized over these days in Marakesh by the organization, the new world organization of commerce, and there they raised the issue of building a new world as we are entering a new century. It is necessary that we should act in the spirit of international justice, righteousness, and equality, and of not living in....

[Announcer] There seem to be problems with the interpreter's microphone. The PLO chairman is referring to the struggle to fight the crises that are tormenting the world, creating explosive situations, and which led to local and regional wars, the phenomenon of hunger threatening to make whole nations disappear, and catastrophes threatening to make our planet perish. Large-scale blocs, large-scale groupings have emerged, which ignore the interests of....[announcer ends]

As far as our region, the Middle East region, is concerned, over the past half-century it faced many long-lasting and bloody conflicts and wars. We have now reached the threshold of a new era in that region, after having signed, together with the Israeli Government, the declaration of principles at the White House in Washington on 13 September 1993. That declaration was to be followed by the signing of other accords, in Cairo, in view of the implementation of the accord convened by the declaration. As you know, currently negotiations are taking place both in Cairo and in Paris. We consider that the continuation of negotiations has to be something that is progressing because the accord we have already concluded is a first necessary step on the road toward peace, the road that began in Madrid in 1991.

We have to open a new chapter, a new era in the Middle East region, based on peaceful coexistence and good neighborly relations, on cooperation, and the settlement of all conflicts by peaceful solutions, by dialogue and wisdom. We have to reach a stage....[pauses] In this sense we had many contacts with the Israeli Government, in various places: in Washington, Oslo, Paris, Davos, and Cairo. Besides the multilateral negotiations that took place in several capital cities of the world.

Today we meet at this international forum in Bucharest, the capital city of Romania, this country that was among the first ones to act vigorously and forward constructive proposals and creative initiatives aimed at achieving a just peace in the Middle East region and at finding a solution by negotiations and a just peace for the cause of [word indistinct].

Since I arrived in Bucharest I have held talks, important and constructive talks, with His Excellency President Ion Iliescu, the president of friendly Romania. We approached issues related to strengthening of the peace process and ensuring its success by the implementation of the accords signed by the PLO and the Government of Israel. [words indistinct] attempt of His Excellency, what he had done, in this meeting between me and His Excellency Mr. Peres. We have to thank him with all our hearts. Thank you, thank you, thank you!

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, you doubtlessly share our opinion, according to which our region is one of the most important ones in the world and that it is a very sensitive one. There are very important energy resources there. That is very important for the great consumer markets, besides the strategic position of our region as a link in the chain linking Europe, Africa and Asia. Ancient Palestine, as you know, was the center of that region, where the Magreb and Mashrek, that is, the East and the West of the Arab world, met, where the three largest monotheist religions, the Mosaic, the Christian, and the Islamic ones met. They have spread over the world transmitting the message of love and the call for peace, cooperation, and brotherhood among all nations, regardless of their color, ethnic character, or sex. That is our deep conviction, and we assure you that the Palestinian people will continue to bear that humane message, especially considering that our people is one of the peoples that suffered most, that was confronted with very brutal wars and conflicts on the political, economic, social, and other planes.

However, we do not wish to be past-oriented, but rather to turn our experience to good account so that our people should exert its right to self-determination and the right to return to the territory of its homeland. The hope of our people is to build a new Palestine, a free country of the Palestinian people. The hope of our people is its right to erect an economy functioning on the basis of mechanisms able to make up for what happened during the occupation period. The hope of our people is to achieve security and safety for us and for all the peoples and states in the region, distant from any violence, violence-countering violence, and any other such reactions. Our hope is peaceful coexistence and cooperation on the basis of justice and welfare, progress, stability, and peace.

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, you doubtlessly wish to learn about the current idea, the configuration of the Palestinian economic, social, and political construction that we hope to be able to erect and for which we are acting on the basis of Palestinian national security.

Our regime will be based on the principles of democracy, political pluralism, and the freedom to set up parties, on nondiscrimination in public rights and freedoms, nondiscrimination among religions, ethnic groups, or skin colors, and nondiscrimination between males and females, on the basis of a constitution that stipulates the sovereignty of independent righteousness and justice, the observance of the human rights and democratic freedoms, and the erection of a free market. Such are the foundations on the basis of which we have begun to set up our national institutions, such as the Palestine Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction, the elaboration of the systems, laws, and regulations by which we intend to achieve the infrastructure and develop it. We will also take the private sector into consideration so that it would play an important and fundamental frontline role in the boosting of economy in all sectors and especially in the sectors of production, tourism, and services.

We have already begun to elaborate all the aforementioned systems, laws, and regulations that open the way for the promotion of the private sector that is to play a vital role. We have Palestinian national economic development programs that have been drafted for a period of seven years, that is, for the 1994-2000 period. The first two years are dedicated to the normalization of economy, to its reconstruction, and to the development of the infrastructure, while the following five years are intended for the development process, in which we hope to achieve an adequate growth to offer to the Palestinian individuals the prosperity and the stability they are craving for, and to achieve such prosperity after they have suffered occupation and constraint for such a long time.

The sum of the investments necessary for the Palestinian development plan is assessed at $13.045 billion. By those investments we intend to develop the institutions and the resumption of development, the reequipment and the modernization of the infrastructure [words indistinct]

We are convinced that we will be able to surmount all difficulties we will be faced with while accomplishing those projects, and we will salute everyone who gives us a hand, intending to help us and cooperate with us. We will positively respond, and we have positively responded when 44 states pledged to help us at the international conference, in October 1993, in Washington, of the countries that displayed readiness to offer us their help. Those states announced their pledge to offer us $2.2 billion. I wish to express my deep gratitude in the name of my people, our people, to all the states that have announced that they will observe that pledge.

However, I have to say that the aforementioned amount is far too little compared to the volume needed by the plan drafted by us for the development of our territory. That is why we are hoping for development assistance in the form of bilateral economic cooperation, regional economic cooperation, and especially the regional cooperation. I wish to state here that it is the right of the Middle East region, after such a long period of wars, to benefit from a Marshall Plan of a new type, to the well-being of our people, our peoples, and our countries.

We call upon the countries that offered to grant us help not to hesitate to give us the assistance needed by the Arab Palestinian territories, especially their development programs, their programs devised to set up their institutions, to create jobs, and also for the activity of the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction.

The Palestinian people, which has suffered much over long decades of oppression and persecution, because of the occupation, is firmly determined to exert its authority and will and to use its experience in the reconstruction and the development of its territory.

You know that during this forum, that in this new era we will be facing new responsibilities and major challenges both on the Palestinian plane and on [words indistinct] There will be the challenge questioning our institutions, such as the Palestinian security and police forces, the ensuring of the requirements needed to create an appropriate security and safety basis for the Palestinian citizens, and the ensuring of the stability and the development process, including all their dimensions, within the peace process.

To achieve economic and social development, one process has to be active and efficient: the training of our cadres in cooperation with international institutions and the group of countries that offered us assistance.

Currently, the great issue and responsibility is to complete the process of negotiations and especially the implementation of Security Council Resolution 904, which ensures our people's international protection, halts the terrorism coming from the Israeli settlers, and to proceed, with a sincere will, to engage in negotiations to lay down the foundations of just and global peace on the basis of international legality.

As far as our region is concerned, we are facing the challenge of achieving security conditions to ensure stability and peace, of laying down a foundation guaranteeing the elimination of any kinds of mass destruction weapons, and of achieving a basis for a peaceful regional cooperation, as a catalytic, boosting, and encouraging factor, to ensure stability and peace, based on equality, fair mutual conduct, reciprocity, the observance of human rights, and the use of creative talent to overcome obstacles still hindering the commercial flow and the circulation of individuals.

I outlined some of the broader ideas of our economic conception in the perspective of accomplishing direct national Palestinian authority following the conclusion of the first stage, that of the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Gaza and Jericho areas, in concord with the Palestinian-Israeli accord.

We hope and expect you to develop cooperation and collaboration with us, which will help us in achieving the goals established by our economic and social development plans drafted by the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction.

From this rostrum we clearly state that any postponements, any delays in the implementation of that accord, will not be beneficial for peace. Our way is menaced by extremists. They want to sabotage the peace process by triggering incidents that cause a great number of casualties.

I wish to emphasize once more our commitment to the peace process and to the accomplishment of a global and just peace, and our condemnation of all acts of violence, regardless of their source. The hour of peace has come and no one is allowed to ignore that truth, to maneuver or to speculate to the benefit of certain interests, in the same way as it is not allowed that certain interests, any interests should prevail over that of peace, of achieving peace.

Israel's Peres Addresses Forum

AU2204143494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1450 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Speech by Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres to the Crans Montana Forum in Bucharest—live, in English with simultaneous translation into Romanian; translated from the Romanian]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, President Iliescu, Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, Mr. Chairman of the Egyptian Assembly, ladies and gentlemen: When I took my first swimming lesson, my instructor told me the following: Look, try to cross the lake. If you cross 50 percent of the distance and you feel tired, do not return, continue swimming, because to finish the swim means less effort than to return. I have the feeling that Chairman 'Arafat and Mr. Rabin made the most efforts and as Churchill said, we are at the beginning of the end.

We are glad to be here in Bucharest. There is something about this town that makes Arabs and Israelis understand each other better here than in other places. [applause]

There is a precedent to this event. You know that this flirtation of ours started in Bucharest when former [Egyptian] President Sadat and President Begin [title as heard] had started negotiations and as a result of it peace with Egypt was achieved, which is very dear to our hearts and which was very highly regarded by the rest of the world. [applause]

I believe that in the same way, the fact that the chairman of the PLO, who represents the Palestinian people, and I are here and we are meeting, is not a simple coincidence. The conflict has lasted for 100 years. The Jewish people and the Palestinian people, two peoples that were born in the Middle East, are meeting in hopes of reviving themselves.

Unfortunately, instead of holding a favorable meeting and achieving an understanding, there was a bitter conflict, and not only there. The Palestinians are part of the Arab world and the Israelis are part of the Jewish world, and they meet on a small stretch of land where the conflict has become increasingly dangerous and terrible. We felt that our history is much more important than geography in order to solve problems. The conflict has continued and many young Arab people lost their lives. Many young Israelis lost their lives. Women and children were killed and their houses were destroyed.

It is not easy, within the middle of this history of hatred, suspicion, and dissatisfaction and among all the manifestations of extremism, weapons, arms, and guns, to try to rearrange the situation and reach a new understanding. If I may speak as a Jew, four months ago we signed an accord with the Vatican, with the Catholic world. This is an important diplomatic event that takes place once in 2000 years, but it happened indeed and the pope said that all of us—Muslims, Jews, and Christians—are Abraham's children. I told the pope that I believe that we are indeed Abraham's children but the journey that we have made cost us so much, my God, and I pray to the Lord, we do not want to create an accident in this journey. It is our wish to achieve a similar understanding with the Arab world. As you know, democracy is not only the right to be equal. Democracy is also the right to be different. We can be different and live in peace and understanding.

I know how difficult it was for Chairman 'Arafat to make this historic decision, while surrounded by this hatred and distrust in his leadership with so many demands. [words indistinct] a period in which the grand mufti of Jerusalem refused to offer his hand. I believe that for Chairman 'Arafat it was equally as difficult to offer his hand as it was for us.

And now we are trying something that one or two years ago seemed completely impossible. Allow me to make a remark in connection with the nature of the accord. What makes it so difficult are not only complications, the geographic layout, and national feelings and the interference of so many forces. What makes it so difficult is to draw permanent lines because we cannot establish a map under the current conditions. We are also talking about Europe now. The idea of sovereignty was introduced by the big thinkers of the world in the 17th century and since then all of them wanted clear borders, strong armies, strong customs barriers and each of them wanted to live in his own nest, separated from the rest of the world. Sovereignty justified walls, sovereignty justified armies and conflicts. But now we are trying to make things differently, following the example of the end of the Cold War. It is a unique step in diplomatic experience to try to establish new relations even before having permanent borders.

The big attempt on the part of the PLO and Israel is to be able to say: We agree, we do not have a permanent map yet, but we have a permanent goal, namely we have decided to start off on a journey from conflict to peace. But first of all, we agreed to start off together and create a new situation. The difficulties in our negotiations have two parts: When Mr. 'Arafat is negotiating with us, we make difficulties for him, and when we negotiate with him, he makes other difficulties for us. But each party makes things look different. If each side had to negotiate with its own people there would be no problem. And they say, why do you make concessions, why are you so weak, why do you give in? And then again we have the third difficulty, and this difficulty lies in the fact that there is no precedent. We cannot go to a book, open it, consult it, and see how we can conclude peace between a movement that is called the PLO and a country that is called Israel, without deciding right away on sovereignty and borders. We want to achieve something new and promising and I believe it is both a moral and political decision. The Jewish people have never dominated another nation for 2000 years. We do not wish in our lifetime to dominate the lives of the Palestinian people. This is against our moral principles. [applause].

Second, what the new age requires from us is to be separate from national viewpoints and to cooperate from an economic viewpoint. You can see what is happening in the Balkans, in Yugoslavia, and you know that in politics it is exactly like in your own kitchen. You can break eggs and make an omelet. But from an omelet you can no longer make a whole egg. Each politician has to be very careful not to make an omelet from each situation and create a situation in which nobody can live freely according to his wishes. On the other hand, let us cooperate from an economic point of view. As Chairman 'Arafat said, let us build an economic Benelux while each of us will follow his own path as people and nation. Thus we want not only to permit the Palestinian people to live in dignity, but to lead their own lives, choose their own leaders, and appoint their own judges and police. It is not our wish to be leaders, judges, and police officers of the Palestinian people. They have to lead their lives alone. But from an economic viewpoint, we wish to build a new

Middle East. How should we do this? You know, the war has its own cost and the peace has its own price. The cost of the war for Europeans, for those in the Balkans, for the Russians is huge. In the Middle East in the past 10 years the countries of the Middle East have spent $1 trillion to purchase weapons, that is, $1,000 billion. There is no Marshall plan that could offer so much money and if we could reduce this [words indistinct].

Officials Question 'Arafat, Peres

AU2204145494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1535 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Question-and-answer session with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres by unidentified officials attending the Crans Montana Forum meeting in Bucharest; moderated by an unidentified official—live; 'Arafat speaks in English and Arabic, Peres in English and French, with simultaneous translation into Romanian]

[Text] [Moderator] The participants in the Crans Montana forum are going to ask questions of the two guests, PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and and Shim'on Peres, minister of foreign affairs of the State of Israel. I see someone here on my right wanting to ask a question.

[Unidentified official] I would like to ask both Chairman 'Arafat and Minister Peres a simple basic question, which requires not a complex answer but a sincere one. To what extent can we view the peace process as truly irreversible? In other words, will the peace process last and become reality, despite calls to replace the Palestinian leadership and the PLO or that of the Israelis? Can a 50-year-old person still hope to live to see the peace process succeed before he dies? Thank you for your consideration.

['Arafat] Peace in the Middle East is not an expression or a newspaper article. There have been all these years of confrontations, particularly with regard to Palestine, which is the land of the three monotheistic religious, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Well, Palestine has long experienced war, throughout known history. I also ask myself the same question, since we are now facing this prolongation of negotiations and talks.

We keep negotiating and negotiating and have yet to achieve a basis on which to proceed with implementation of the agreement. Nothing can be achieved on paper alone, but rather in the field. Well, we do not know how long this process will take. Maybe tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, the coming week, or the next month. There are no secrets. What we have agreed upon is on paper, with our signatures on it. We hope. We cannot say that it is within our power to give you the final decision. He must decide. He must say. My people and I are under Israeli occupation. They must decide whether they are going to withdraw or not. [applause] They have to decide whether they want to implement what has been agreed upon or not. I hope, from the bottom of my heart, that this will come to pass and I know that Mr. Peres has a very broad vision, but I also know that there are extremists, I know they exist, and I am very sincere about it all. Well, they must understand what this peace means.

Peace is a very precious goal for all of us, for our children and their children, and for our new generation and for their new generation. Peace is not only a Palestinian need. It is an Israeli need, a Russian need, an American need, and an international need. However, it is mainly a need for the Middle East, which is the most important strategic area in the whole world. If we do not achieve peace—but we hope to achieve it, because the alternative is too horrible for words—we will have complete confusion in our region and new Balkanization. This is not a joke. It is bloodshed, it could lead to further bloodshed. Therefore, from here, I call on Prime Minister Rabin and Mr. Peres, who have the upper hand, to look at the (?plight of those who have less power) and withdraw. [applause]

[Peres] To answer your question, I must admit that 50 is a pretty dangerous age. If you survive it, you have already accomplished something. However, to answer your question frankly, even if the Palestinians want to change something or the Israelis want to change the world, well, the world is irreversible and we cannot really change it. This is a new world, and we must enter it, since the new world will not follow us. What is the new world? The Cold War is finished, therefore, there is no one left around to finance cold wars. Likewise, communism collapsed. Many of the Middle East conflicts were supported by the Cold War. If there is no cold war, there are no longer conflicts in the Middle East. Second, I do not believe it is really up to us. You know, I keep wondering what led to the collapse of communism? After all, no other party has emerged in the Soviet Union to bring this all about. No, there was no new party or coup d'etat. It was not the military who overthrew communism and no invasion took place, either. What toppled communism, and will always topple dictatorships, is television, knowledge, and the dissemination of information, which nobody can really halt. The young men from Moscow, Baghdad, Jerusalem, or Bucharest are increasingly watching what is going on in the world. Then, they ask themselves: Why are people in some parts of the world happy and rich, while we get up every morning in poverty?

I believe that the change does not depend on the leaders or the countries. The world will become more and more democratic and peaceful, because there is a third reason for it all. I do not believe that the extremists have a future. What are they doing? They are killing, and killing, and killing. What then? They have no other alternative. The alternative does not belong to extremism, but to the mothers in Israel and Palestine who do not want their children to be exposed to the same dangers.

Chairman 'Arafat, you said that I am an occupier. You must admit that I am a pretty pleasant occupier. There are not many occupiers like me. However, as a so-called occupier, I am firmly taking my seat at the negotiating table alongside you and I hope we will find a political solution, without force and violence, between the Palestinian and ourselves. I told Chairman 'Arafat about the Israeli saying that the better one's neighbor feels, the better one feels also. Gentlemen, I would like to reiterate that the future is irreversible and, in this context, peace is irreversible, too. [applause]

[Chiriac] I have two questions for Mr. Peres and Mr. 'Arafat. First, did you make any progress in the peace talks here in Bucharest? And second, do you think that Romania can still play a role in the peace process in the Middle East.

[Moderator] Who is asking the question?

[Chiriac] Dan Chiriac, from the ADEVARUL daily newspaper.

[Moderator] There will be a news conference for journalists later.

[Chiriac] Well, this was my question for both Chairman 'Arafat and Mr. Shim'on Peres.

['Arafat] Not to forget that we have a very important meeting this afternoon in which we will all participate; His Excellency [President Ion Iliescu] wants to help give further impetus to this peace process. Therefore, as I said several times at the start of my speech at the Forum proceedings, thank you, thank you Romania. [applause]

[Official] International investors are convinced that, if there is peace, the Israeli-Palestinian team and the entire Middle East will again become a growing market, a market for the future. We know that this process can be long-term. Is it possible to develop concrete initiatives between Israelis and Palestinians, such as a mixed Israeli-Palestinian bank, or a joint Israeli-Palestinian company for research projects and water exploitation, or other similar initiatives that can facilitate coexistence on concrete technical and financial planes?

['Arafat] At this point, our economy is an economy under occupation, under Israeli occupation, and it is totally linked to the Israeli economy. When they withdraw, we will raise this question then. I do not want to go into detail now, but, regardless of the situation, we are still under occupation. It is no small thing that we have been suffering for 45 years. When the Israelis withdraw and we manage to establish our national authority, then you can come and see. If you listened to my speech, I referred to several future projects and emphasized that it is our right to have a Marshall plan for the region, which has gone through so many wars, as there was a Marshall plan for Europe. Why should we not also have a Marshall plan in our region? We need it. This applies to the peoples in this region, not only the Palestinians and Israelis, but to all the other Arab states in the zone. They also have a right to profit form a Marshall plan. I even departed from my written text to the session in order to emphasize that we need this plan.

[Peres] In my opinion, there should be economic and scientific cooperation between us and the Palestinians. We should take care not to replace a market economy with a national flag economy. I believe that there is more money in the world than ideas. We must develop research activity. The Palestinians and Israelis should jointly concern ourselves with this aspect.

[Announcer] I would like to remark on an interesting aspect of this question-and-answer session, namely the languages used by the two leaders, the Israeli and Palestinian ones: Shim'on Peres answers both in English in French, while 'Arafat, aside from Arabic, also just answered a question in English.

[Official] I have a question for Mr. Peres in his capacity as professor at Cairo University. Does he think that the developments in the region have conformed to projections in the lectures he has written, or does he now have a new slant on developments in the region?

[Peres] As professor at Cairo University, let me give you a very concrete example. There is cooperation between Egypt and Israel in the sphere of agriculture. Our Egyptian friends asked us for technology in the sphere of irrigations, drainage, and other fields. The project proved successful. As a matter of fact, Egypt has become a competitor for Israel in this respect. I doubt that the Egyptians feel that they are subjected to domination from Israel in this respect. We are also cooperating with Morocco and other countries. I believe that all of us have two passports: a national passport, linked to history, and a universal passport linked to science. Science is universal. Science knows no frontiers. It must be made available to everybody. One can achieve a lot through science. [applause]

[Official] I represent the German Bundestag. I have a question for both Chairman 'Arafat and Minister Peres. You have just referred to the future. However, before I take up that point, I would like to thank the Romanian people for having created favorable conditions—at a pretty difficult time for themselves—for the peace process. The experience we have gained here in Europe, at the end of World War II, makes me ask you a realistic question about the time after the conclusion of the peace process. Do you not believe that too much attention is being paid to the conflict rather than to the assistance required after the end of the conflict? Are you not worried about the fact that the world, including Europe, will lose interest in the region? As you know, the attention here is focused on the European Union and on the processes currently taking place in Europe. What is being done to ensure that, after the end of the conflict, you will get assistance from the European Union? What are your expectations from us?

['Arafat] My viewpoint is the opposite of what you said regarding the Middle East-Europe relationship. While U.S. President Clinton characterized [words indistinct] from Greece, up to the Scandinavian countries and Portugal. Regarding the European participation in this aid program—meaning the European portion, worth millions of dollars—we note that the European share is the largest. By that, I mean it has the largest percentage. Therefore, nobody can say that Europe is not interested in the Middle East. Europe has an interest in the region and in the aftermath of peace in the area. We are not living somewhere in Hawaii, but in the Middle East. We have shared history, land, and economy with Europe. We have also shared wars, science, and culture. Everybody knows that the Mediterranean Sea has been viewed as a lake between us and you in Europe. Thanks to my bilateral contacts, I noticed that all European countries of the European Union feel the need to help us. They are particularly interested in the evolution of negotiations between us and Israel and in future development plans in the region. I said that in my speech to the conference and I even made references to the private sector. We would like the European private sector to support us and we want to mutually support and encourage each other. Therefore, I suggest you revise your viewpoint and your sources of information. Thank you.

[Peres] Well, let me say something as an associate member of the Common Market—as you know, Israel is an associate member and Palestine is also indirectly associated to the Common Market. In the future, Palestinians will probably also want to become members of the European Union. However, I want to tell you something. Europe has become so productive and efficient that all the Europeans can produce now is unemployment; the more productive Europe becomes, the more unemployed can be found in Europe. Therefore, we ask the Europeans: Why should you spend so much money on unemployment? Why not export these unemployed to help build societies, that is, send them to some social markets? The cost is the same. Why reduce the size of your companies, the number of jobs, and thereby create so many problems? For instance, in the Middle East—I am not referring to geographic markets only, but to social ones, too—you should try to help people in the Middle East increase their living standard by setting up and building nuclear plants, roads, and so forth. You can better recover your money that way. This is what the Ford company did.

Lenin introduced discipline in this respect. I know that the governments have budgets. We have a state president here who can confirm that to you. Therefore, governments have budgets, but they do not release the money, because all the money is used at the national level. On the other hand, the companies have money but no ideas and companies will never invest money in a region marked by danger and question marks about it. What we would like to suggest to the Europeans is that their governments give guarantees to their own companies, so that the latter can invest their money in new areas. Europe must choose between freezing their own economies and expanding their ideas. I believe that there are great possibilities now and I believe that we agree with the Palestinians in this respect—that there should be a change in this sphere: Instead of selling weapons to us, the Europeans should give us money to build our homes; the Americans can build bridges, airports, and other projects in the region. I believe this is the real proposal we want to make. [applause]

[Announcer] This is the end of the question-and-answer session.

Iran's Velayati Meets Officials

LD2304110394 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] Foreign Minister Velayati, in meetings today with Croatian, Bosnian, and Albanian officials on the sidelines of the world forum foundation [Crans Montana Forum] in Bucharest, discussed the status of Muslims in the Balkan peninsula and the latest developments in Gorazde. Here is our correspondent's report:

[Correspondent] Foreign Minister Velayati, who is in Romania to take part in the world forum foundation session, held separate meetings today with the Croatian parliamentary speaker and the foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania at the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran [IRI] in Bucharest, and discussed the situation facing Muslims in the Balkans and the latest developments in Gorazde.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubljankic described the latest situation in Gorazde and referred to the Serbs' destructive acts of destroying 800 mosques and Islamic monuments. He also stressed the effective role of the IRI in eliminating the problems facing Muslims in his country. Velayati pointed out the sensitivity and sympathy of the people of Iran and described the special attention of our country's president to the situation in Bosnia as the basis for a new round of extensive diplomatic moves by the IRI in international forums.

Velayati referred to his talks with the UN secretary general, the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] secretary general, and a number of foreign ministers of Western and Islamic countries, and said: The future session of the ICO foreign ministers contact group, which will take place at the United Nations at Iran's proposal, is a new move to speed up UN Security Council decisions in support of the people of Bosnia.

Velayati said that he is ready to visit Bosnia-Herzegovina in the near future.

In a meeting with Croatian Parliament Speaker Stjepan Mesic, Mesic expressed satisfaction at the trend of talks with Muslims and the agreement reached and further explained a proposed confederation in the agreement with Bosnia. Velayati expressed the hope that recent agreements would last and be respected, and called for further expansion of the two countries' ties.

During the third meeting today, Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi briefed Velayati on the inhumane and harassing actions taken by Serbia against the

Muslim people of Kosovo. Velayati expressed sympathy, and said: The IRI will endeavor at international forums to promote the removal of the problems facing the people of Kosovo, and will continue to support them.

Peres Meeting With Velayati Denied

TA2204193494 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1900 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, on a visit to Bucharest, said he will arrive in Cairo in the next few days, where he might meet with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat. Peres told reporters he hoped the Gaza and Jericho autonomy negotiations with the Palestinians will end within a week. Peres also said he will come to Cairo on 2 May again to participate in the autonomy's donors conference.

Today Peres held meetings in Bucharest with the presidents of Lithuania and Cyprus, Romania's prime minister and its parliament speaker. Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said his country will open an embassy in Israel in the near future.

Sources in Peres' entourage denied rumors according to which Minister Peres will hold a meeting with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, who is scheduled to participate in the economic conference in Bucharest tomorrow.

Vacaroiu, FRY's Sainovic on Forum

AU2304193594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu met with FRY Deputy Prime Minister Nicola Sainovicat at Victoria Palace today. According to information released by the Romanian executive, the guest noted that the holding of the Crans Montana Forum in Bucharest is not only an important event for Romania but for all the countries in the Balkans. The participants reiterated the positions of the two countries regarding the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and noted that the only way to solve the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is through dialogue, which should be attended by all interested sides.

The two sides assessed that bilateral relations could once again become as intensive and ample, if not stronger, as they were before the embargo and that this is why they have to be prepared in advance.

Peres on Middle East, Bilateral Ties

AU2404173194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0800 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Interview with Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres by Raluca Dana Cotruta in Bucharest on 22 April—recorded, in English with superimposed translation into Romanian; translated from the Romanian]

[Text] [Cotruta] Mr. Minister, you have made lots of political statements these last few days. Now that the end of your visit is drawing closer, we can also discuss other more humane issues of interest to all of us. Could you just define tolerance? What is tolerance, in your opinion?

[Peres] I defined it in my speech to the forum when I said that, although democracy means the right to be equal, tolerance means the equal right to be different. Tolerance is a relationship with a different person, opinion, and religion. You do not necessarily have to agree with them, but you should always observe them. That is the meaning of tolerance.

[Cotruta] What do you think makes people intolerant? What are the roots of this kind of attitude?

[Peres] Fear, prejudice, jealousy. Usually, the source of intolerance is fear and uncertainty. People apparently have an element of aggressiveness in themselves. For many good years, aggressiveness manifested itself through wars. In a way, it is now being expressed to a certain extent in sports, on the soccer fields, where confrontations slightly resemble wars. Aggressiveness is also manifest in road traffic; many people will not allow other cars to overtake them. Intolerance is an accumulation of fears and uncertainties.

[Cotruta] Do you think that intolerance, this kind of disease—since it is a disease, although you may not see it burst out on your skin or accompanied by high fever—do you think this kind of sickness is more present in some regions of the world as compared to others?

[Peres] Yes. I think there is a direct relationship between poverty and intolerance. When you are becoming richer, you are also getting richer in tolerance. When you are turning poor, you are becoming more intolerant. Then, it depends very much on cultural development, which has many effects in its own turn. For example, the number of children. We all have smaller families because we want to invest in our children. However, if we are talking about the society of a backward nation, then you note that it relies on many children; you have a high death rate of children, too, with many of them not enjoying the benefits of education. The same applies to the issue of tolerance. The freer. richer, and more secure one is, the more one can afford to be tolerant. The reverse of the coin is intolerance.

Then you must realize that there are several forces that give legitimacy to intolerance—I am basically referring to religions, since once something becomes holy, it ceases to be reasonable. Holiness is above all reason. This also applies to the problem of sacredness, as in the case of Khomeinism or the Inquisition. Then come the various strategies, the fact that people have had to fight wars in order to earn a living. This is also on the point of disappearing. The strategies are outdated, as well as the wars. I do not think the like of this will still happen in the future. But strategies and secret services have always been with us, the same as suspicion, disquietude, and intolerance. Then comes the economic and personal confrontation. The people want to excel each other and, in their endeavors to this end, they sometimes try to minimize or ridicule the others. The causes of all this are as diverse as the human beings themselves.

[Cotruta] I would like to return to the Middle East, not politically but spiritually, so to speak. What do you think is the meaning of the Middle East for the rest of the world and for the people living there? What is your viewpoint in this respect?

[Peres] We represent a very strange mixture—the cradle of three religions and the wells of oil. You have the great memories and traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, which are represented by huge communities throughout the world. There are 1 billion Catholics in the world, 1 billion Muslims, I do not know exactly how many Protestants, and there is also a small Jewish people. All of them are linked to the area in one way or another. Maybe half of humanity is linked to the Middle East emotionally or religiously. On the other hand, 60 percent of the world's oil resources are in the Middle East. Therefore, if you are religious, you come to the Middle East. If you are a layman, you still must come to the Middle East.

The Middle East has filled the pages of history. The Middle East has experienced 30 changes of empires throughout its history. Some 30 different empires have passed through the region and left their impact on the pace and remembered history of mankind. I do not know whether the nature of the Middle East has made that religions should be so exclusivist or that the exclusivism of religion has made the Middle East to be so strained. Nevertheless, it has surely had its effect. There is a very interesting theory belonging to French historian (?Maspereau). He said that there are two kinds of countries—the mountainous and the flat ones. He said that in a flat country, there are never prophets or revolutionaries, since they do not know where to hide themselves. The people there live together, can see each other, and take their water from the same springs. In mountainous countries, where you can hide well, there are prophets and rebels, revolts and revolutions, as well as ideas. So, from Mount Sinai to the mountains of Judea, the stories were written that gave birth to the wars, revolts, religions, and the prophets.

[Cotruta] Your words sound so serene. Nevertheless, I imagine that you have gone through quite a few difficult moments in your career as diplomat. Can you name one?

[Peres] I have had so many difficult moments that a single example would not suffice. You know, one experiences crises and disappointments in almost everything. Even in these negotiations, there were at least three moments when I thought we would not pull it off. Then again, we had to overcome those moments and resume the negotiations from the start.

[Cotruta] Which was the toughest moment?

[Peres] I think the night before we signed the accord in Oslo. My friends told me: You are finished. Everything is over, there is no chance. I talked all night with the people in Tunis. I have been to Sweden with the late Minister Holst, and we were sharing the same room. He was shouting to 'Arafat [on the phone]. During the night, between Sweden and Norway, many people thought that the peace process had failed.

[Cotruta] Yesterday you sounded quite optimistic and Mr. 'Arafat, on leaving Bucharest, made a pretty optimistic statement. Can one talk about a moderate optimism?

[Peres] For me, it is a permanent optimism. Personally, I do not know how one can go through life with pessimism. Does it help any to be pessimistic? Even here, in Bucharest, when we met the first night, Mr. 'Arafat was not in very good form. We sat until 0230 in the morning trying to examine all matters and find solutions to them. I am glad to say that Chairman 'Arafat left Bucharest with an optimistic feeling about what has been achieved.

[Cotruta] You know that in his inaugural speech to the forum, Mr. Carteron [president of the Crans Montana Forum Foundation] said that this meeting in Bucharest is not a haphazard product—he said that in French. Therefore, it is not accidental that the meeting took place in Bucharest. I mean, many speculations have been made in this respect.

[Peres] Obviously, I cannot guess what the organization's president meant by that.

[Cotruta] He said the meeting was not accidental.

[Peres] I know you are talking about Mr. Carteron, but I do not know what he was alluding to. I know that the organization has made this huge effort to bring me and Mr. 'Arafat together here. It was a difficult task. Romanian diplomacy also had a part in it. I think we wanted to pay our respects to Bucharest and the Romanian diplomacy—this being another inducement for our coming here.

[Cotruta] Are there any other bridges being built between Israel and Romania?

[Peres] There are quite a few bridges. The connection between us is natural, so why should we look for new bridges?

[Cotruta] Well, that is what I was referring to—namely the Israelis originating from Romania.

[Peres] Yes.

[Cotruta] So, they are a bridge.

[Peres] Yes, 10 percent of Israel's population originated from Romania and they nurture very warm feelings for Romania—something that makes Israeli-Romanian relations so special.

[Cotruta] Is there anything you dislike in the present stage of Romanian-Israeli relations.

[Peres] No, I do not think so. Occasionally, there are some sporadic anti-Semitic outbursts, which is strange because there is practically no important Jewish community left in Romania. What remains of the large Jewish community of Romania is only approximately 16,000 people, the great majority of whom are old people. However, I do not think we have any real problems.

[Cotruta] Do you think this problem of anti-Semitism is real nowadays or is it artificially sponsored and maintained?

[Peres] Well, it is like a devil and an evil spirit, but it exists in the people's minds and memory. I was never confronted with it personally, but I have met many people who are afraid of this evil spirit. This evil spirit does not exist in reality, but in the composition of human psychology. As far as I am concerned, anti-Semitism is not a Jewish malady but a Gentile one. That is why we find it spread among the non-Jews. I think it is an ugly spot on their own societies. I do not believe that if a strong anti-Semitic trend existed in Romania, it would jeopardize the life of the Jews, because the whole thing is pointless. However, I believe that for a Romania that wants to be free, liberal, respected, and clear, it should prevent the emergence of these ugly phenomena, which are so much linked to the past and have so little to do with the future.

[Cotruta] Is this phenomenon more acute in other countries?

[Peres] Well, it has different expressions. In Germany, for instance, there is a certain xenophobia. Actually, the German potential of anti-Semitism is directed against the Turks and other foreign workers. It is something crude, ugly, and brutal. We know the Germans are trying to fight this phenomenon. There are certain anti-Semitic manifestations in Russia and many other places. But as I have said, this is not a Jewish malady.

[Cotruta] Let us leave the devils aside and turn back to what we might expect and what I believe we should do. What do you think would be the main danger—or better said, what might jeopardize the peace, which has now become a reality?

[Peres] Usually it is the crazy people you should watch. You know, there are crazy people in three countries: Iran, Iraq, and Libya. They are endangering peace and their own nations. However, I believe that less and less people are going to support them, even among the crazies. What can you achieve by war? What is important, you cannot achieve through war, and whatever war can achieve is no longer important. Then comes the cost of war, which is prohibiting, as well as the cost of arms and the damage caused by the war. No one can really engage in a war today. I see war as a cholera, a disappearing disease. It no longer really functions in the modern world. It is no longer a real problem. There are countries that still maintain huge armies but have no enemies. It is so strange to see a country whose army should be poised to fight against an enemy, but the enemy that might justify the size of that army simply does not exist.

[Cotruta] I have two more questions. The first one is concerning what we usually call the great powers. You said that many weapons were sold to the Middle East, something that costs a lot of money. All this traffic in arms and money—does it have anything to do with the great powers or with some people up there wanting to preserve a climate of tension?

[Peres] Well, when there was a conflict between the two superpowers, they searched for clients in the Middle East. Many countries in the Middle East thrived on this world conflict. Anyhow, I think this is a good question. Why should a country like Russia or the Soviet Union spend an estimated $180 billion to finance and support various parties in the Middle East in the way of arms, credits, and so forth?

The answer is that this confrontation between the two superpowers was not only a strategic and economic one but an ideological one, too. Each ideology—the democratic one, on the one hand, and the communist ideology, on the other—wanted to prove that they were able to obtain more support from as many people as possible. It was more an attempt by these great ideologies to conquer the people's hearts rather than their territories.

I once read a very interesting article about an American foreign policy expert who made a speech before a group of U.S. businessmen and explained the need for the U.S. program of aid for abroad. He had a very good idea. He told them: Let us assume that I do not work for the State Department but for the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Let us also assume that you are not U.S. businessmen but Russian ones. If you are to ask me how we spent the Russian assistance for foreign countries, I would say that we spend it in Egypt. If you asked me how much are we spending there, I would say $6-7 seven billion. In which way? Well, we are supplying arms. What did Egypt do with the weapons? It entered a war. Did it win the war? No. Is there a communist party in Egypt? No, it is in prison.

Well, then I would say that we further spent some foreign aid in Indonesia. If they asked me how much, I would say about $2 billion. If they asked me on what, I would say on a stadium. If they asked me why, I would say because [former Indonesian President] Sukarno liked stadiums. If they asked me whether this has made Russia more popular in Indonesia, I would have to give a negative answer. Is there a communist party in Indonesia? No, it is in prison. Then the American dignitary closed his speech by saying the following: Do you know the difference between the United States and Russia? In Russia they do not ask questions.

[Cotruta] The last question. You travel a lot. Are you ever homesick?

[Peres] The minute I leave my home I am homesick.

Peres Assesses Talks, Departs

AU2304205694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Statement by Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres in Bucharest on 23 April—recorded, in English with passage-by-passage translation into Romanian; translated from the Romanian]

[Text] [Announcer] Shim'on Peres, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the State of Israel, left Bucharest this evening. Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and foreign minister of Romania, accompanied the guest to Otopeni airport. Before his departure, the Israeli guest granted an exclusive interview to our correspondents Nicu Popescu and Ion Marinescu.

[Begin Peres recording] In the three days of talks, one of the issues approached was bilateral relations between Romania and Israel, and the other issue was relations with the Palestinians.

As far as bilateral relations are concerned, we are on the right path. There is an increase in economic activities and cultural and scientific relations and there are technological exchanges between our countries.

We held talks with the foreign minister, the prime minister, and the president of your country in a very nice atmosphere. We have the impression that we are on the right path. Romania has a very important investment in Israel—namely, the people who left Romania for Israel but without divorcing their feelings from Romania. They feel very strong about it. We will build a new strong bilateral relationship. As far as the Crans Montana Forum conference is concerned, there were 350 delegates from abroad, but what is more important was the presence of over 700 correspondents in this rather impressive palace. I think it was an important congress. I think Bucharest was interesting. The issues discussed have exceeded your own nation and these issues are not part of the Black Sea, but of the Balkans. I met many interesting and acknowledgeable people.

Then there was the meeting with Mr. 'Arafat, where we tried to solve the different points in our discussions and clarify relations between the PLO and Israel. We tried to create the right atmosphere. The tradition of Romanian diplomacy that has been mediating in the Middle East has been felt now, too. In general, it was a very useful meeting. As you know, Mr. 'Arafat felt at home here and I believe this will accelerate the pace of negotiations toward a positive final result. I am grateful to the Romanian Government for the attention granted to me. We had a working lunch today with the prime minister and the foreign minister that was completely kosher and held in a very good atmosphere and I hope we will continue to work together. [end recording]

Decision on Greek Embassy Staff Suspended

AU2204190894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Statement from the Albanian Foreign Ministry; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] With the aim of contributing to reducing tension between the two countries and in the region in general, as well as for creating a more favorable climate for the meeting between the foreign ministers of Albania and Greece scheduled to be held in Zurich on 3 May 1994 and whose success we are interested in, Albania has decided to freeze the application of its decision regarding the question of the diplomatic staff of the Greek Embassy in Tirana until this meeting.

In Zurich a bilateral agreement on the diplomatic staffs of both countries will also be discussed, as stressed in the meeting that President Berisha held on 14 April with German Ambassador Claus Vollers, representative of the troika of the European Union in Tirana.

We hope that this act, which expresses Albania's determination for a constructive policy, will serve as a signal for the Greek Government to engage in stopping hostile acts and following a policy of good-neighborliness toward Albania.

With this decision, Albania confirms once again its determination to follow a policy of reducing tension and preserving stability in the south of the Balkans.

Havel on Gorazde, Radio Privatization

LD2404153694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Eva Hulkova; place and date not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Hulkova] [passage omitted] I would like to touch on a very painful topic concerning the current very dismal situation that Czech radio finds itself in. A few days ago, the Radio and Television Broadcasting Council decided to take the medium wave frequency away from Czech Radio and allocate it to a private operator. I would like to know how you feel about this business.

[Havel] [passage omitted] The result of taking the medium wave frequency away would be a constraint on the broadcasting potential of Czech radio. What occurs to me against the background of some other matters, such as the deputies' sponsored proposal to privatize Czech Television Second Channel, is whether this issue is not a rather dangerous or exaggerated passion for privatization, the consequences of which could turn not only against the public, but eventually even against the political power itself. After all, if we have only private radios broadcasting all the time pop-music and advertisements, and if we have television broadcasting American horror films and so on and so forth, one day it could happen that important political information does not at all reach the public. [passage omitted]

Naturally, this is linked to the fact that the legislation covering the non-profit making sphere in our country has not been completed yet. As you know, I often recollect this topic. One of the many types of non-profit making organizations are public institutions. While we have the law on television and radio, these laws are bit intangible and I am not sure about their quality. This applies mainly to the decisionmaking mechanisms operating through the [Radio and Television Broadcasting] Council. The Council's decision is thus primarily a reminder of the importance of regulating this sphere, of thinking out well and without bias what position should be given to the public institutions and of comprehending that they are absolutely irreplaceable. I regard the trend leading to imposing an excessive constraint on their potential for the benefit of commercial media as very dangerous. It is a trend which could turn against all of us.

[Hulkova] [passage omitted] Now we know what the president's view is. This view is unequivocally in line with the view held by the prime minister, parliament speaker, all the representatives of all political parties, and by the broad public. All of them unanimously agree that the Council's measure is not very good. What occurs to me in this context is—where is the law, where is the justice? Pardon me for using such grand words.

[Havel] It appears that the Council, which as far as I know cannot be dismissed, has been given disproportionate powers. It seems to me that the Council set up by the parliament should not be the last, the highest, and only decisionmaking body. Undoubtedly, it has a million reasons to justify its decision. But all the same, it seems to me, that just as everywhere else, in this case there should also be a chance to appeal and to evaluate its decision on a higher level. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] This week was very dismal for the population of Gorazde. As the world is admitting its powerlessness, I would like to ask whose turn is it now to solve this?

[Havel] As you well know, for a long time I have been feeling the world community's bewilderment and helplessness and I have found it difficult to come to terms with. I consider the fact that the world community is pulling itself up only now, when the things went as far as they did, to be sad, tragic and almost shameful. The Karadzic army is more or less ridiculing the whole world, doing whatever it wants.

It is only now that there is any really serious debate about decisive steps to stop this. My view is that the evil has to be fought, the sooner the better, if possible at the very beginning. The stakes in this issue are very high; above all, those thousands of innocent people who are suffering and are being murdered, including patients at medical points that are being attacked and shelled. However, there is much more at stake here—this is something explosive, something that might represent a political threat to the whole of Europe if nothing is done about it.

I do believe, that at least at this late stage the world community will after all take a course of action decisive enough to open the door for really serious talks, not just pseudo-talks when one side deals with the other with the knowledge that they are liars and that they will deceive them the next day anyway. This is just a negotiating game. It is clear that it is always better to negotiate than to bomb somebody. However, unfortunately, sometimes there is a situation when there is no other way to force somebody to engage in serious talks than to use a tough threat against him.

[Hulkova] Mr. President, do you think that the Americans who are still traumatized by the Vietnam experience will be prepared to wage a real war, prepared for sacrifices for this issue, if necessary?

[Havel] This is America's traditional and big problem, it has been America's problem before Vietnam and after Vietnam. [passage omitted]

Everybody understands that the American public is very reserved regarding U.S. involvement in the world. However, at the same time it is clear that this big state has some sort of an indirect responsibility for the fate of freedom, democracy, human rights, and basic moral decency of human coexistence on this globe. [passage omitted]

General Zezula on New Role of Civil Defense

94CH0210B Prague A REPORT in Czech 21 Jan 94 p 5

[Interview with General Major Zdenek Zezula, chief of the Civil Defense Authority, by Ladislav Lenk; place and date not given: "Life Is a Series of Somersaults"]

[Text] *Under the previous regime, civil defense was an unbelievably complex and thoroughly organized institution that, on the basis of its composition and principles of functioning, was more reminiscent of a kind of territorial defense army or home guard—which was not exactly in harmony with the Geneva protocols. But, with the birth of the Czech state, even civil defense is getting a totally new look. We spoke of this with General Major Zdenek Zezula, engineer, who was put in charge of the Czech Republic Civil Defense Authority midway through last year.*

[Lenk] Government Resolution No. 126 decided to radically change the civil defense system. Can you comment on the changes?

[Zezula] Government Resolution No. 126 was adopted in March of last year and, in the months that followed, some portions of the resolution were fulfilled. However, that cannot be said of the task that called for working out a new concept of civil defense by 30 June. The concept was such that the minister characterized it as casting the existing status in concrete for an additional two to three years. That is why, when I took on the job on 1 July, I first had to answer the question where civil defense would belong at all. Was it to be part of the Ministry of Defense or the Ministry of Interior, or would it be a totally independent ministry? Following intensive negotiations, the view finally arrived at indicated that it would perhaps not be suitable for civil defense to currently leave the Ministry of Defense. But it would have to be created as a completely autonomous system so that, in the future, on the basis of political decisions, it could be transferred elsewhere at any time. That is what we based our subsequent work on when we proposed to the minister that certain steps be taken and when he accepted these proposals. One of the first and fundamental steps was the requirement that the military aspect of civil defense, which cast doubt upon the position of civil defense in the eyes of foreign countries—that is to say, the fact that military rescue regiments were subordinated to the General Staff—had to be changed very rapidly.

[Lenk] It is precisely this that was probably in conflict with the Geneva protocols....

[Zezula] You are right. It was a legacy of the previous developments and the mission of civil defense at the time. It was therefore decided that the transition would be accomplished as of 31 December 1993. And this was successfully done. To take over regiments is one thing, but to do it in such a manner that the regiments would not recognize the fact that someone else was in command, particularly from the standpoint of their material, financial, and other support, was a matter that, at that time, literally kept me awake every night. Suffice it to say that we had to actually create an entire logistics system at the same time that, in the final analysis, must be capable of taking care of not only the regiments, but also the entire nonmilitary portion of the civil defense system.

[Lenk] How did the mission of the regiments change on the basis of their altered subordination?

[Zezula] Basically, the mission did not change. The regiments are perceived as central forces and resources of civil defense that should be used if local regional nonmilitary portions of the civil defense system prove unable to liquidate the consequences of disasters, catastrophes, and other extraordinary events in times of peace.

[Lenk] I am coming to the nonmilitary civil defense components. What kind of fundamental changes will they undergo?

[Zezula] I would say that it involved, speaking symbolically, yet another somersault. And it was much worse. Initial work on the project began sometime last year, in the spring, when the civil defense leadership promised the heads of okres offices that okres civil defense staffs would be done away with. I learned of it while mapping out the situation sometime in mid-August, and I was horrified to find out what was being done in that regard and what the views were as to how the system should function at all in the future. Moreover, there was a decision that the steps would have to be accomplished by 31 December. But we managed it. In August, the appropriate materials were dispatched to the government, and then in September the materials were forwarded to the Defense Council of the state. The council recommended that the material be finalized, and, in November, Government Resolution No. 660 made the change possible. It was a fairly stressful situation because we had to eliminate the okres civil defense staff order of battle as early as September so that we could let people go within the time limits stipulated by law.

[Lenk] In place of the civil defense staffs, there are sections for the protection of the population at okres offices and municipal offices. What will they be doing?

[Zezula] Essentially the same as the okres civil defense staffs were doing.

[Lenk] You have in mind the building of shelters, the creation of stockpiles, training...

[Zezula] Yes, perhaps even that. But the whole problem lies elsewhere. What is involved here is the fact that, although the chief of an okres office has the responsibility for civil defense, he had no one in his office to solve such problems. The civil defense staffs stood outside, and relationships were highly complex. So it was said that, if the chief of the okres office is responsible, let him have someone subordinate to him who can work on these matters.

[Lenk] But, in this case, there can be no military personnel.

[Zezula] No, the sections for the protection of the population will actually not have a single soldier.

[Lenk] And what will the relationship be between your office and those sections?

[Zezula] We shall direct them methodologically. That is because their mission will in fact be identical with that of the civil defense staff, which functioned here until now. There is an entire scale of functions—communication, warning, protecting the population, training, maintenance, etc.

[Lenk] So you would like to say that those "popular" alerts at factories and offices and in schools, where, as the saying goes, there were monthly idiotic actions involving gas masks, will continue?

[Zezula] You know, perhaps you will not believe what I am about to say to you, but I have received material from the United Nations having to do with requirements for the civil defense of the population, and, if we were to conduct ourselves in accordance with this material, we should have to expressly intensify our activities.

[Lenk] What kind of threat is there anyway? Military, civilian, some other kind?

[Zezula] Of course, also military threats. But civil defense today, as can be seen from the supplemental protocols accompanying the Geneva Agreements, is something altogether different. Briefly stated, what is involved is that civil defense be capable of making maximum use of its resources to benefit the population in times of peace—that is to say, in the case of disasters, catastrophes, etc. So that you should understand what I am saying, this is precisely the kind of activity that was perceived by the former civil defense system as an odd job. And there is absolutely no reason why our resources should not be utilized in peacetime.

[Lenk] What then is ahead for civil defense this year?

[Zezula] First of all, we are working on the Civil Defense Law, the principles of which should be presented to the government sometime in the fall of this year. At the same time, work is going on regarding the concept of civil defense; at the present time, interministerial estimating procedures are under way. The concept is to be presented to the government for discussion in the first quarter of this year.

[Lenk] Will the Civil Defense Authority be scheduled for transfer out of the Ministry of Defense, after all?

[Zezula] For the next two to three years, the situation is unequivocally given, which was also stated by the chairman of the Defense and Security Committee in parliament: The system of civil defense must be created within the framework of the Ministry of Defense but as an autonomous system. That is, thus, our principal task. We are even initiating the reorganization of regiments into rescue formations; that is what they will now be called. We are moving the regiment from Varnsdorf to Rakovnik because it is supposed to be involved in protecting the population of western and northwestern Bohemia and cannot get there at all from Varnsdorf in the winter. We are also resolving the problem of identifying the military portions of civil defense so that it would be clear that this is not an army—we will have different uniforms with our own emblem on them. So much for the military component of the civil defense system. The nonmilitary component is faced with a complicated task—the activity involving the separation of the civil defense functions from okres offices must be started, which means that, for example, we shall have to train all those people who entered the system at the okres level.

Destruction of Small Pox Virus Unconfirmed

AU2204150094 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 21 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta: "The Army Tested Small Pox"]

[Text] Prague—Although only a month ago army officials kept quiet about the small pox virus ever having been studied in Czechoslovakia, the army admitted yesterday that military scholars worked with this dangerous virus in the 1960's and 1970's. Moreover, according to the former employees of the Military Health Institute, the small pox virus has never been destroyed.

There was no small pox virus in the viral strain bank that the army liquidated last February, while, according to information available, it was not destroyed in the 1980's either. So far, none of the army or civilian officials we asked has explained what has actually happened to the small pox virus.

The director of the Central Military Health Institute, Vladimir Radovnicky, believes that the virus was destroyed between 1976 and 1978. "The small pox virus strain (variola maior) was here once, because there is a diagnostic serum. It was a problem of the 1970's. The strain was probably destroyed. Nevertheless, I cannot give a definite answer of when and how it was destroyed. I can only confirm that the small pox virus was not in the strain bank that was destroyed earlier this year. It would be hard for me to trace what happened in the 1960's and 1970's," he said. He then emphasized that there is no viral strain, even less the small pox one, in his institute now.

A former employee of the same institute, who wishes to remain anonymous, and who used to work with the small pox viruses, asserted that, after the small pox research was concluded in the 1970's, the strain was frozen in liquid nitrogen and placed in a special container.

In 1979, when thanks to the world-wide systematic inoculation, small pox was completely suppressed, the General Commission for Elimination of Small Pox recommended that all remaining stock of small pox virus be either destroyed or transferred to reference laboratories in the United States and the USSR. "We have not respected the research recommendation by the world commission out of laziness, rather than out of bad intentions," the former staffer of the research laboratory admitted.

'Text' of Policy Statement of Slovak Government

AU2504093894 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 15 Apr 94 pp 7-10

["Text" of "Policy Statement of the Government of the Slovak Republic," approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic on 13 April]

[Text]

Policy Statement of the Government of the Slovak Republic

Introduction

The coalition government, sworn in on 16 March 1994 in accordance with the Constitution, is presenting to the National Council its policy statement in order to seek the confidence of the supreme legislative body of the Slovak Republic. The government came into being on the basis of a decision made by this parliament, and its six-month term of office must be seen within the context of domestic political developments since 1992.

The government assumed responsibility for the country's fate under exceedingly difficult conditions of the development of our young state, which is undergoing an extensive political, economic, and spiritual transformation.

One of the basic aims of the preceding government was to wind up the emancipation process and gain for Slovakia the status of an entity under international law. It became apparent that, in view of the outcome of the 1992 elections in the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, the fulfillment of this aim was possible only through the partition of the CSFR and the founding of two independent states. Today it is evident that the Government of the Slovak Republic was not sufficiently prepared for this step, which manifested itself in improvisation in tackling many serious problems of society in the process of the founding of the independent state. The gradual rise of authoritarian management led to the escalation of social tension and to disintegrative tendencies not only within the government and within the ruling parliamentary majority, but also in many spheres of social life, which increasingly rendered it impossible for other political entities to effectively participate in political decisions.

The Slovak Republic's efforts at integration into democratic European structures were harmed by inappropriate statements about the foreign policy orientation of the republic as well as about some issues regarding national minorities and ethnic groups.

A dangerous phenomenon, which had been introduced into political life by the ruling power, was the confrontational manner of political communication and its low standard. The solution of personal conflicts among politicians and individual parties through the mass media discouraged a considerable segment of the population from participating in political life, particularly those citizens who are interested more in specific results than in political squabbling, demagogy, or populism.

By slowing down the transformation process, lack of concept in its economic policy, particularly lack of dovetailing of its instruments, by delaying solutions, but also by an unrealistic assessment of the starting macroeconomic position of the Slovak Republic's independence and by insufficient preparations for the independent existence of the Slovak economy, by politicizing economic problems, deferring the transformation of the social sphere, failing to deal with the complicated situation in the company sphere, giving insufficient support to the development of the entrepreneurial sphere, and failing to ensure political and economic stability inevitable for the entry of foreign investors, the government greatly contributed to the unfavorable development of the Slovak economy in the years 1992-93. GDP and industrial production dropped. The growth rate of consumer prices more than doubled in 1993, compared with 1992, unemployment and regional differences in unemployment levels rose, and the indebtedness of the government sector drastically increased. The social cost of transformation inordinately increased in 1992-93 and the social situation of the population further deteriorated. The ruling power was not competent enough to halt and reverse the unfavorable development, for which it bears its share of responsibility.

Those were the main reasons for the passage of a vote of no- confidence in the ex-prime minister by the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the subsequent departure of the whole government. In this context, attention needs to be drawn to the fact that the refusal by members of the preceding government and state secretaries to remain in office until the appointment of a new government was unusual and in contravention of practices that are customary in democratic states.

By its subsequent decision to shorten the electoral term, parliament at the same time defined the present government's term of office.

During its term of office, this government wants to restore confidence in the highest constitutional bodies and lay foundations for a permanent democratic execution of state power based on tolerance, consensus, and a businesslike exchange of opinions.

The government must, and wants, to govern on the basis of a broad political consensus among forces that assess many problems differently from their party positions. Our ability to display this consensus in today's immensely difficult situation, particularly economic situation, and to apply this consensus in practice will be to the benefit of the broadest spectrum of our citizens. Only by achieving this consensus and by such a crystallization of views can we gradually start working on Slovakia's development strategy, a call for which was made by President Michal Kovac in his report on the state of the republic.

We will continue all the positive steps taken by the previous government. We regard our most important tasks to be stabilizing the political, economic, social, and security situation in Slovakia, preparing the elections and important conceptual documents and legislative norms, and warding off collapse in health care, education, culture, and the judiciary. We will continue putting the finishing touches to the shaping of a state based on the rule of law and will complete the drafting of basic documents pertaining to the security and defense policies of the Slovak Republic. With regard to foreign relations, we want to effectively defend the foreign political interests of our state and tackle existing problems in a professional way.

Although the government's program has been worked out for a period of six months, it is based on longer-term development targets. On this basis, the government also wants to initiate new dynamizing elements [dynamizujuce prvky], regardless of the fact that their effects will make themselves felt only after the present government's mandate expires.

The government undertakes to speed up economic transformation, which is a prerequisite of an efficient economy, and to raise the standard of living on this basis.

We will devote maximum efforts to bringing about macroeconomic stability, which we consider to be an important condition of further development. We want to achieve this by means of a prudent budget policy and by coordinating our policy with the monetary policy of the Slovak National Bank.

On questions of principle of economic policy, the government will proceed so as to win trust at home and abroad. It will focus, in particular, on creating a favorable entrepreneurial environment for domestic and foreign entities, a transparent and energetic privatization, and on combining foreign economic policy with stabilizing measures in the crucial sectors of the economy.

The government's intention in the social sphere is to speed up its transformation and to abandon state paternalism in favor of citizens' responsibility while retaining the principle of social solidarity and state guarantees where essential.

Within the framework of an active employment policy, we will concentrate on solving the problems of the most severely affected regions and micro-regions.

We want to pursue our activities in such a way as to halt the process of anarchy in social life and the moral decline of society.

This government is a coalition government, composed of political entities from various parts of the political spectrum. The coming together of such heterogeneous entities in one government does not occur often in history. It is at times when the foundations of society's functioning and of democracy are threatened that diverse political entities raise common interest above their particular interests. We are of the opinion that Slovakia finds itself in such a situation at present.

The political entities participating in this government are convinced that their main task is to help solve the present critical period in Slovakia's development, calm the emotions that are running high, and contribute to the holding of democratic elections. They will do everything they can to maintain the established consensus.

Risks of the Starting Position of the Economy

In 1993, the first year of the existence of the independent Slovak Republic, the development of the economy deteriorated once again, particularly in the first half of the year. This was caused by the previous government's lack of concept in preparing the independent existence of the Slovak economy, gross shortcomings in its economic policy, and the slowing down of the transformation process and privatization, in particular.

This found expression in another decline of real GDP by 4.1 percent, in a decline of industrial production by 13.5 percent, and in a drop of construction output by almost one-fourth.

The conditions of internal and external balance substantially deteriorated compared with 1992. The deficit of the state budget, which increased to 23 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] (6.8 percent of GDP), not only contributed to further price growth but, by siphoning off credit resources, also had an extremely adverse influence on the development of the entrepreneurial sphere. The increase in the budget deficit was accounted for, apart from the decline in GDP, also by shortcomings in preparing the introduction of the new system of taxation and insurance.

In spite of the Sk's devaluation, exports declined sharply (11.5 percent compared with 1992), while imports grew at a relatively rapid pace (15.4 percent), which resulted in a Sk26.7 billion deficit in the foreign trade balance.

At the same time, the clearing account registering trade with the Czech Republic showed a deficit of Sk5.8 billion, which, while representing an extraordinary boost to budget revenues in 1993, aggravated, on the other hand, the starting position for budget management in 1994.

The starting position of the state budget for 1994 is also made worse by the unresolved liabilities of public sector branches—health care, transportation, education, and others—which were not included in the 1993 state budget deficit. These represent an additional burden of more than Sk6 billion for the 1994 budget.

As a result of deficit financing, which assumed unrestrained dimensions toward the end of 1993, the net debt indebtedness of the government sector rose to Sk60.0 billion. This substantially increased the debt servicing burden for the state budget in 1994 and the subsequent years.

The price level went up 23.2 percent in 1993, more than double the 1992 price growth.

The unfavorable development of the Slovak economy in the years 1992 and 1993 also found expression in growing unemployment and in the social situation of the population. By the end of 1993, the rate of unemployment increased to 14.4 percent.

The preceding government did not take resolute steps to stabilize the conditions for the development of the entrepreneurial sphere and in support of its development. This was reflected in another increase in the number of companies operating at a loss, the proportion of which reached 57.5 percent by the end of 1993, with their aggregate loss amounting to Sk42.5 billion. This further aggravated companies' inability to pay their bills and acted as a brake on monetary flows.

Our predecessors are accountable for the, by international standards, low inflow of foreign investments, primarily because they failed to ensure essential political and economic stability and because the government's low credibility deterred foreign investors. This is reflected in the fact that the overall volume of foreign investments reached only Sk10.8 billion by the end of 1993, which was Sk4.2 billion more than at the end of 1992, but, when Czech investors' capital is subtracted, the increase represented only Sk3 billion. The inflow of foreign capital had a declining tendency in the course of 1993.

As transpires from the aforesaid, we are taking over the economy in a situation when negative trends—particularly the drop in GDP, the decline of production in industry, construction, and agriculture, the growth of unemployment, the growth of social costs, and the like—culminate. We are convinced that this situation can be changed. However, this requires a change of economic policy. We are putting forward the aims and instruments of a new policy, realizing that during this government's term of office the results of this policy can be reflected in the economy only partially.

Basic Economic Intentions and Targets

In contrast to the preceding government's program, our program proceeds from the longer-term aims of the Slovak economy's development. On this basis, during our term of office, we want to lay the foundations for new dynamizing elements, regardless of the fact that their effects will make themselves felt only later. At the same time, we will try to achieve that the transformation process does not slow down and that the attainment of the targets of economic policy for 1994 is not jeopardized.

The government's unequivocal intention is to speed up the embarked-upon process of transforming the economy and ownership relations, in particular. We will set the process of privatization in motion again, with respect to which we will return to the tried-and-tested method of coupon privatization, which had in the past won citizens' trust. We regard successful transformation as the prerequisite for the development of a modern and efficient economy that will enable the Slovak Republic to join the league of economically advanced countries and to raise the living standards of the population. We pledge to retain the social tolerability of transformation. We will conduct social dialogue to achieve generally acceptable solutions in the interest of maintaining social peace. We will devote particular attention to the socially weakest strata of the population.

The government wants to implement the basic aims of economic policy arising from the Memorandum on Economic Policy for 1994. In view of our starting position, great risks are associated with the attainment of those targets. We will prepare measures to alleviate those risks. Apart from short-term fiscal measures that will contribute to the attainment of 1994 macroeconomic targets, we place emphasis, above all, on measures that will help break through the unfavorable tendencies in the development of the Slovak economy and lay foundations for the renewal of economic growth.

The government realizes that at the root of the development of society lie the initiative and responsibility of every individual and every economic and noneconomic organization. The government's task is to act as the catalyst of this initiative.

Points of Departure of Macroeconomic Policy

The government considers macroeconomic stability to be one of the basic features determining the development of the Slovak Republic's economy. The attainment of this stability is conditional on the implementation of prudent budget, tax, wage, price, subsidies, and customs policies. To achieve the common macroeconomic targets regarding internal and external balance, the government considers it essential to coordinate its macroeconomic policy with the monetary policy of the Slovak National Bank, while respecting its independence. This means drawing as close as possible in 1994 to zero-growth of GDP, maintaining price growth in the range of 10 to 13 percent, keeping unemployment under the 17 percent limit, and meeting the commitment [not further specified, referring possibly to the commitment to keep budget deficit under 4 percent of GDP as recommended by the IMF] in budget management. We envisage a growth of net foreign exchange reserves, with a view to maintaining the internal convertibility of the [Slovak] currency and a surplus in the balance of payments. The government will seek to obtain a standby credit from the IMF in order to maintain macroeconomic stability.

In budget policy, the government will focus on closing the unfavorable budget management for 1993 and the preceding years. It will have to resolve the high deficit of the state budget for 1993 bequeathed to it by the previous government.

To prevent the situation of 1993 from recurring, the government will focus in 1994 on securing revenues for the state budget. It will implement measures to mobilize budget resources and, in strictly defined cases, reduce budget expenditures and will strive, in general, to bring about order in finances. It will adopt measures to prevent tax evasion, reduce outstanding tax arrears, unblock claims abroad, and address the issue of debts stemming from the pre-1993 period.

During its term of office, the government will prepare the draft state budget for 1995.

We have inherited an unintelligible and inefficient system of taxation, customs, and insurance and will prepare specific proposals to improve this system.

While implementing wage policy, we will attend to it, in enterprises with dominant participation by the state, that wages serve as a sufficient incentive for individual initiative. At the same time we will see to it that the disproportion between the growth of wages and the development of labor productivity does not increase.

We will establish conditions for a more extensive utilization of the financing of development targets from foreign resources. At the same time we want to make transparent the existing system of obtaining foreign credits and assessing their effectiveness. We will therefore tighten the criteria governing the assumption of liabilities vis-a-vis foreign partners. We consider it essential that every credit taken abroad should establish prerequisites for its repayment and strengthen the economic position of the Slovak Republic.

Macroeconomic Policy

The government will adjust macroeconomic policy with a view to attaining its macroeconomic targets. Without bringing about a fundamental turnabout in the company sphere, we will not only fail to achieve the set macroeconomic targets, but the unfavorable tendencies will continue to intensify. The government's attention will center on speeding up the commercialization [komercionalizacia] and transformation of state enterprises in terms of ownership in order to finally resolve the institutional vacuum, in which companies have found themselves in the last four years and to shorten the intolerably long pre-privatization agony of companies. With respect to commercialized state enterprises, the government will make use of the motivating function of managerial contracts and will limit its interference to rigid financial control.

By its economic policy the government will establish prerequisites for eliminating the causes of the intolerable growth of company indebtedness and will take specific steps in the legislative sphere, and to secure the course of court proceedings in commercial matters and bankruptcy proceedings, which will help speed up the financial restructuring of companies. It will speed up negotiations on obtaining a loan for restructuring the company and banking sphere (EFSAL).

Creation of Favorable Entrepreneurial Environment and Support for the Development of the Private Sector

The basic prerequisite and impulse for the desirable development of enterprise is the stability of the entrepreneurial environment and its ability to provide motivation. The government wants to establish a favorable entrepreneurial environment by means of macroeconomic measures, particularly fiscal and economic instruments, but mainly by means of measures in tax, customs, and social policy and by improving the legislative framework.

We will also orient our efforts toward improving the competitive environment and finalizing the system, and intensifying the activity, of institutions charged with promoting the development of businesses, such as the National Agency for the Support and Development of Small and Medium-Sized Businesses, consultancy centers, Slovenska Zarucna Banka [Slovak Guarantee Bank], and the like. In this process we will cooperate with entrepreneurs' associations and with the Slovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

We regard a strong private sector, operating on the basis of market principles and private ownership, as the source of Slovak economic prosperity. Therefore, we want to expeditiously eliminate obstacles and restrictions to the development of the private sector in the legislative and administrative spheres and help tackle the financial prerequisites for the further development of private entrepreneurial activities.

We will support private activities even in those sectors of public services that have until now been the exclusive domain of the state.

Foreign investment, which should help eliminate the acute shortage of capital, will represent one of the dynamizing elements of the economy. We want to create a stable and favorable entrepreneurial environment that will also be attractive to foreign investors and take specific steps to facilitate their becoming involved in the economy of the Slovak Republic. We will establish conditions to substantially improve and increase the flow of information to foreign investors and will give support to those, whose entry will accelerate the development of the economy.

Privatization

One of the most serious causes of the intensification of negative tendencies in the development of the economy was the slowing down, and virtual halting, of privatization. Lack of concept compounded by lack of transparency and exceptionally hasty privatization in the closing days of the previous government's term of office have brought about loss of confidence in privatization among citizens. We consider it our priority to restore the confidence of citizens and foreign investors alike in the process of privatization in Slovakia. In this spirit we are taking measures to speed up the privatization process in such a way that, by the time the second wave of coupon privatization is concluded, more than one-half of all property in state ownership should be into private hands. At the same time we will establish conditions for effective control of privatization by the public.

The government will secure the equality of privatization methods and the equality of participants in privatization. It will consistently attend to making privatization transparent and will prevent political deformations of this process. In contrast to the preceding government, which considered coupon privatization a residual method and was deferring its preparation, this government will approach it as an equal method and, within the framework of its mandate, will also secure the commencement of the second wave of coupon privatization. Enterprises from all branches of the economy, including attractive investment opportunities, will be included in coupon privatization. Parts of property that were not privatized in the first wave will also be offered for sale by means of coupons.

We will speed up the realization of already prepared and undisputed privatization projects by means of standard methods. We will offer certain enterprises, or their parts, to domestic and foreign interested parties who will demonstrate their credibility and will submit the most interesting projects, interesting not only in financial terms, but also from the viewpoint of entrepreneurial plans.

In the near future, we will prepare a proposal in which we will specify our ideas about the extent, timetable, and methods of privatization in individual sectors of the economy. We want to cooperate with the National Property Fund on new foundations. We will strive to speed up the sale of shares in the National Property Fund's portfolio. We will work toward the National Property Fund exercising its ownership functions only passively in those companies in which there are important private shareholders.

Regional Policy

Within the framework of the transformation process, we will also give consideration to regional aspects. On the basis of monitoring the situation in individual regions, we will support the program of their structural adaptation. The government regards as its long- term priorities, in particular, the creation of conditions for a balanced economic and social development of regions, a rational use of resources, environmental protection and ecological stability of the landscape, and a harmonious arrangement of economic and social functions on a given territory. It will also pay heed to the problem of migration from the countryside and the lagging behind of rural areas, to cross-border and international cooperation among region, and to the establishment of free-trade zones, business zones, science and technology parks, and the like.

Sectoral Policy

The government will adopt economic stabilization measures that will convince not only our citizens, but also foreign countries of its readiness and ability to carry on the transformation of the economy and to gradually finalize the conditions for the Slovak economy's transition to a modern market economy integrated into European and global economic structures.

Industry, Construction, Trade, and Tourism

The government's priority in industry will be, above all, raising the ability of Slovak products to compete. We consider support for the restructuring and revitalization of industrial companies to be the foundation of sectoral policy. We will speed up the privatization of arms companies, which was kept being delayed thus far, while at the same time securing the state's adequate participation so as to be able to preserve the strategic interests of defense and security.

In the sphere of energy, the government will draw up a proposal for the organization, restructuring, and gradual privatization of enterprises that are now in state ownership, providing for well-considered participation by foreign capital. Based on foreign experience, the government will proceed particularly circumspectly in the process of transforming and privatizing the energy sector in order to preserve the state's energy sufficiency. It will prepare regulatory measures to prevent unwarranted price increases in this sector. Our main target in the construction industry, apart from giving support to small entrepreneurs, will be to establish conditions for the utilization of our large-scale capacities to build transport infrastructure and complete unfinished apartments and energy projects. We will take the necessary steps to make possible the export of construction capacities. We will speed up negotiations on the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant. In the sphere of domestic trade, we will ensure the adoption of the Principles of State Consumer Policy, with a view to protecting the health, safety, and economic interests of consumers.

The preceding government did not make use of the dynamizing potentials of tourism for the development of the Slovak economy. In contrast to the preceding government, we will focus on the development of tourism with a view of increasing its share in the generation of new jobs, revitalizing individual regions, and increasing foreign exchange earnings.

We will speed up the privatization of companies engaged in tourism, will prepare the institutional framework for tourism promotion and a law on tourism, will intensify the promotion of Slovakia, and the like.

Transport, Communications, and Public Works

In the sector of transport and communications, we will replace by pragmatic solutions the previous practice of unsuitable interventions and statements, which brought about stagnation in those areas and met with unfavorable response abroad. We will support the restructuring of the Railroads of the Slovak Republic and of enterprises of the Slovak Automobile Transportation as well as modernization projects in transport and communications, particularly the Telecommunications I and Telecommunications II projects for the renewal of the telecommunications network, for which the state will provide important guarantees. We will place emphasis on the efficient utilization of foreign credits. We will establish conditions for the development of combined transportation and will support the creation, and speed up the enforcement, of a competitive environment on the domestic and international haulage markets. In implementing state transport policy by means of foreign activities, we will closely cooperate with neighboring states in order to acquire funds for linking our transport network with the main European transport routes.

The government will draw up and submit to parliament for discussion, still during its term of office, a draft amendment to the Law on Railroads, a Bill on the Health Insurance of Railroad Employees and the Railroad Employees' Health Insurance Company, a Bill on Road Transportation, as well as a Bill on Telecommunications.

It will follow up on all legislative and preparatory work and all studies and blueprints aimed at the development of infrastructure in transportation, postal services and communications, and the institution of public works and will secure a more distinct progress of all those projects.

The need to take care of the citizens' housing situation was not fully appreciated in the preceding period. We will draw up, and will begin to implement, our own concept of housing policy, including the completion of unfinished apartments and infrastructure and amenities. We will initiate and speed up the launching of privatization of the housing stock and will initiate an increase of investments in the housing economy. We will clarify the legal framework regarding expropriation for projects in the public interest.

Agriculture

In agriculture, the government will orient its activities toward meeting the basic strategic targets adopted by the National Council of the Slovak Republic. We consider agriculture to be one of our priorities.

Establishing the prerequisites for stabilizing agriculture, halting a further production decline, securing continuity of agricultural production, and ensuring conditions for its qualitative growth remain the primary tasks. We want to clarify the arrangement of property relations and claims in agricultural cooperatives, speed up the transformation of proprietary relations regarding land, particularly the privatization of state farms, and establish conditions for agricultural enterprises' faster adaptation to the new conditions.

In giving a final shape to the economic environment and a functioning market for agricultural products and food, the government will use economic and legislative instruments as well as organizational and institutional measures that conform with market principles.

Following up on the transformation of proprietary relations, we are planning a new organizational arrangement of the forest economy. The implementation of the program of remedial measures in forests damaged by pollutants will continue by drawing on domestic as well as foreign financial resources.

One of the most important tasks in water management is to ensure the supply of larger territorial entities with unobjectionable drinking water. The basic priority is the protection and economical use of water resources in conformity with the most demanding ecological criteria. The construction of the Malinec and Turcek water reservoirs will continue and support will be given to the construction of the Zilina hydroelectric power project. Special attention will be devoted to the quest for an agreement with Hungary on the operation of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project.

Development of the Financial Sector

The government is interested in the formation of a competitive commercial banking sector. In the endeavor to contribute to this process, we will support measures designed to continue the privatization of banks, improve the banks' portfolio, and reinforce the banks' capital stock, including reinforcement from outside capital resources. One of the aims of this support is to significantly raise the level of Slovak banks' international acceptance and to integrate them into the international banking system as fully fledged members.

We will also devote attention to the expansion of insurance services mitigating entrepreneurial risks, particularly to insuring export credits. We will also give consideration to a system of insuring citizens' bank deposits and to the formation of credit cooperatives.

The government will finalize the establishment of conditions for a more intensive development of the capital market, which operates as an important means of allocating capital resources in the economy. In the process of developing the capital market, it will attend to ensuring its transparency, improving the legislative framework regulating its operation, and defining the status and extent of control functions, including the finalizing of a state supervisory body.

Foreign Economic Policy

Some areas of foreign economic policy remained unresolved in the preceding period. Essential measures designed to protect the market in the transitional period, as well as exceptionally needed export- promoting measures, kept being delayed, which caused a further intensification of external disequilibrium and economic decline.

We will therefore strive, above all, to give finishing touches to export-promoting policy and to implement it across-the-board in order support the export potentials of Slovak companies. In justified cases we will also secure an adequate protection of the internal market.

We will project the conclusions of the bilateral and multilateral talks of the Uruguay Round of GATT into instruments of economic and trade policy. The preparation and implementation of international bilateral and multilateral agreements essential for the expansion of space for trade will be an integral part of trade policy. We will support the adoption and implementation of an agreement on shortening the transitional period and eliminating tariff and non- tariff obstacles to trade within the framework of the Central European Free Trade Agreement, while taking into consideration the specific situation in agriculture. We will support the development of mutual economic relations with the Czech Republic and other neighboring states.

Ecology and Economic Policy

The successful transformation of our society is conditional also on respect for requirements for the protection and enhancement of a healthy environment. The government will therefore significantly reinforce the linkage between economy and ecology.

The principle of separating the protection of natural resources from their exploitation has not been conceptually resolved thus far, which generates a number of problems in practice.

The allocation of resources from the State Environmental Fund of the Slovak Republic has thus far respected, more or less, the importance of requirements and priorities at district level, while the importance of national priorities has not always been respected. This situation jeopardizes the possibility of funding from the resources of the State Environmental Fund nationwide priority projects and of positively evaluating other requests in the second round.

A great deal has been expected of the establishment of the Slovak Environmental Agency, but its activity needs to be consolidated. With the aim of preventing further environmental damage, we will strive for the speedy passage of a law on the assessment of the impact of operations on the environment and for the comprehensive completion of the legal system related to the environment, in a way that will make it compatible with the legal system in the European Union.

The Government of the Slovak Republic will define with greater precision and make more transparent individual government departments' powers regarding the use and protection of natural resources, particularly forests, water, and soil, while also paying heed to the rights of owners.

With a view to a rational utilization and protection of natural resources that are in state ownership, we will reassess the present system of fees for their exploitation. The government will harmonize the use of resources appropriated from the state budget in special-purpose state funds with the aim of a more efficient financing of environmental projects. At the same time, it will establish conditions for the transformation of the State Environmental Fund into a revolving fund [obratovy fond], in conformity with the principles of the market economy.

Social Sphere

In the interest of continuity in the transformation of the social sphere, the government will continue ensuring the tasks of social policy. The government's intention is to abandon state paternalism in favor of citizens' responsibility. It wants to reinforce the citizen's personal participation in solving his social situation while retaining the principle of social solidarity and state guarantees where essential. The steps taken thus far came too late and were not always in harmony with the systemic and conceptual intentions laid down in 1990, despite the preceding government's declared identification with those intentions. Insufficient attention was also devoted to the dovetailing of economic and social transformation, which led to an undesirable development in the social situation of the population.

The rate of unemployment reached almost 14.8 percent in February 1994, which represents almost 380,000 unemployed registered with labor offices. In February 1994, the rate of unemployment exceeded 20 percent in 14 districts, with the district of Rimavska Sobota reporting a rate of unemployment of 26.7 percent. That the growth of long-term unemployment (the average period of registration of job applicants with labor offices) represented 229 days at the end of 1993), as well as the fact that, by the end of 1993, the category of young people under 25 represented almost one-third of all unemployed, must be regarded as a particularly negative phenomenon.

Apart from the growth of unemployment, the deterioration of the social situation and the living conditions of the population in 1993 was also caused by another increase in the cost of living, which went up 22.8 percent compared with the preceding year, and by a 2.6 percent decline of real earnings. Single-parent families, families with several children, and pensioners are the worst off. The proportion of households with children whose income in 1993 was lower than 1.5 times the subsistence minimum reached 61.9 percent, with 15.2 percent of households with children finding themselves below the subsistence level. The unfavorable social situation of citizens was tackled by means of the provision of welfare payments. A total of 239,000 recipients of these payments were registered in 1993, more than 140,000 of whom were long-term unemployed. Welfare payments were collected by 8.6 percent of households with dependent children.

Taking the above facts into consideration, dovetailing the processes of economic and social transformation, abandoning state paternalism, and embracing citizens' responsibility will remain the basic approach in the social sphere, the target solution being a socially equitable acceptance of the citizen's personal participation, social solidarity, and state guarantees.

From the viewpoint of the situation in the sphere of employment, the government will reassess, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the labor market, the instruments of active employment policy, while respecting the demand that financial resources be spent rationally and effectively and while respecting the situation on regional labor markets. It will place particular emphasis on active employment policy, on reassessing the provision of material benefits also from the viewpoint of the gradual transfer of this care to the insurance system, as well as on expanding the possibilities for our citizens to assert themselves in the work process, and protecting the labor market, by means of bilateral contracts with other states.

Within the framework of the transformation of labor relations onto a new qualitative level corresponding to the conditions of a socially conform market economy, the government will continue working on the preparation of a new Labor Code and a new system of accident insurance and will tackle the status of civil servants.

The transformation of the existing systems of pension schemes, health insurance, state social payments, and welfare payments into systems of social insurance, state social support, and social assistance remains the government's basic conceptual intention in the sphere of social security.

From the viewpoint of topical tasks in the sphere of social security, we consider it necessary:

—to tackle the issue of child allowances as the key form of state transfer payments for families with children,

—to analyze the functionality of the National Insurance Company,

—to create legislative foundations for a system of supplementary pension insurance,

—to continue to gradually create conditions for humanizing the care of physically and mentally severely disabled persons and elderly citizens, with particular emphasis on the actual guarantee of their rights,

—and to gradually establish conditions for the activity of nonstate entities in the social sphere.

In the sphere of social security, the government will respect all claims of citizens that are guaranteed by law. In accordance with this commitment, it will index [valorizovat] pensions and the subsistence minimum, as well as transfer payments whose level is calculated on the basis of the subsistence minimum, when the conditions set by law are met. We support dialogue with social partners on all matters pertaining to employment, labor relations, and social security with the aim of maintaining social peace.

Health Care

The present unfavorable situation in health care results from the disrupted continuity of the 1992 health care reform and from the introduction of some incorrect systemic steps, compounded by a drastic cut in financial resources.

As of 31 December 1993, health care establishments reported unpaid bills of Sk1.8 billion, of which bills for medical drugs account for Sk1.2 billion. The remainder is made up of bills for energy, fuel, and food supplies and reconstruction and modernization projects.

Health care has found itself in a critical financial situation, as a consequence of which one can also speak about a high level of hidden indebtedness (which is estimated at Sk50 billion).

In 1992, 17.1 billion Czechoslovak korunas were spent on the operation of health care facilities, in 1993 Sk16.2 billion, and, disregarding inflation and the introduction of systemic measures, the use of only Sk15.7 billion was projected for 1994.

The government's main aim in the sphere of health care will be to deal with the financial crisis taht directly threatens the provision of health care and slows down the transformation process. The following measures are inevitable to ward off an imminent collapse:

—to quantify and specify the justified demands of health care on the state budget for 1993 and determine the method of settling the liabilities of health care facilities,

—to find ways of alleviating the budget deficit in health care for 1994,

—to carry out changes in the existing system of payments for health services.

Concurrently with the aforesaid inevitable measures, conditions will be established for systemic changes in key health care areas.

In the sphere of financing health care and health insurance, the government will strive to establish conditions to financially secure the provision of basic health care, support the development of the Health Insurance Fund, and secure its independent operation.

The system of assessing the value of health services introduced as of 1 October 1993 will have to be replaced by a new solution that will be more effective, simpler, less demanding administratively, and less costly. The new system will have to be prepared in a differentiated way, separately for individual types of health care providers.

In the near future, we will put forward draft laws on health care and on the protection of people's health.

Following up on the passage of the law on the protection of people's health, we will ensure in organizational terms the transformation of the institutes of public health and epidemiology into state health institutes. The government will update the National Health Support Program.

We will continue to privatize health care facilities, using publicly controllable criteria. In the course of April we will ensure the drafting and publication of conditions for the privatization of pharmacies and health spas. Changes in ownership must not jeopardize the therapeutic functions of natural springs and spas. A majority participation by the state in the privatization of key spa facilities is foreseen. By the end of June 1994, we will prepare documents for the privatization of primary health care establishments.

The government will work out an analysis of the present state and structure of health care establishments. In implementing structural changes, it will cooperate with the appropriate regional bodies of state administration involved in health care.

In connection with the implementation of essential changes to the existing system of payments for health services, the government will establish conditions for a solution to the wage conditions of health care employees. The government will ensure the drafting of a concept for the further education of medical staff.

School System, Education, and Science

High educational and cultural standards of the population represent the basic source of a state's wealth. Advanced countries pursue the strategy of growth of investments into the sphere of education and science. In defiance of this worldwide trend, both the conceptual and the everyday issues regarding the development of education, science, and research have been neglected in our country of late.

The budget of the department of education and science has been cut by Sk2.795 billion over the last two years. The already low budget for 1994 is further reduced by a debt of Sk298 million stemming from the year 1993. The situation is so grave that, if education retained all its functions at the level of 1993, the budget resources allocated for education and science would be exhausted in the 9th month of 1994, even if the price level remained constant. The situation is compounded by the fact that no legal norms have been drawn up and introduced into practice that would make it possible to introduce progressive forms of management into schools and educational establishments.

As a result of the grim situation in the sphere of education and science, which is documented, for example, by the breakup of kindergartens, school catering, and school accommodation, the government will pay particular heed to ensuring a calm completion of the 1993/94 school year and preparation of the new 1994/95 school year.

For this reason we consider writing off the 1993 debts of schools and educational establishments, adequately amending the state budget for education and science for 1994, and reassessing the existing structure of revenues and expenditures in the department of education to be unavoidable. We will explore additional sources of revenue at home and abroad. Our intention is to concurrently rationalize and make transparent the spending of financial resources in this sphere. With this in mind, we will work out principles to be used in drafting a law on financing schools.

The government regards as one of the decisive tasks the formulation of the republic's strategic interests in the sphere of education and training and the commencement of work on drafting the National Program of Education and Training.

We consider good primary schools to represent the foundation of the good work of the entire educational system. In addition to essential improvements in the contents and forms of primary education, we will work toward its gradual humanization and influence also out of classroom. A contribution to this should be made also by the drafting of the principles of a law on protecting and supporting youth, which should guarantee the physical and mental development of young people.

In the sphere of secondary schools, we will continue restructuring the network of schools and the system of fields of study and vocational training, with special regard for the changing conditions of the labor market. We will also devote attention to addressing the complex issue of specialized secondary schools. We will take the necessary steps to ensure an even development of education in areas inhabited by people with diverse mother tongues. We will guarantee the fulfillment of the right to the free choice of the language of instruction. We will guarantee to students of all nationalities conditions to master literary Slovak.

The government will ensure the drafting of the Concept of Developing University Education in the Slovak Republic Until the Year 2010 and the transformation of the existing system into a system that will flexibly react to the needs of the labor market and will be compatible with the system of education in the countries of the European Union. Based on experience from the implementation of the law on higher educational establishments, the government will establish prerequisite for the drafting of a new law or for amending the existing law.

While implementing school policy, we will give comprehensive support to further improvements in qualification. In view of the complicated economic situation of higher educational establishments, we will support their acquisition of funds from nonstate resources as well.

We want to consistently support the development of science and technology in the directions designated as priorities as an important prerequisite of economic, social, and cultural growth under the conditions of an unfolding market economy. We will submit to the National Council of the Slovak Republic for adoption a law on state support for science and technology. We will propose the establishment of the Slovak Republic State Fund for Science and Technology as well as an independent Slovak Republic Grant Agency for Science and Technology, which should help preserve and develop the intellectual base of the state and prevent academics and researchers from leaving universities and research institutes. The government will also ensure a regular and consistent process of mutual recognition [akreditacia] of universities and the research and development base.

Based on a realistic assessment of the present situation in, and standard of, physical education and sports, we want to establish the necessary institutional, legislative, and economic conditions for the development of physical education and sports, with emphasis on financing them from central sources through the medium of the State Physical Education Fund. By giving support to top-performance sports, we will contribute to the successful representation of the Slovak Republic in sports.

For the needs of public administration and division of powers between state administration and self-administrative bodies, the government will draft an optimal variant of management and administration of primary and secondary schools, providing for the gradual transfer of some of the powers of central bodies of state administration to local state administration and self-administrative bodies. We will seek to gradually transfer powers in the sphere of the economic management of preschool facilities to the administration of towns and communities, while retaining state guarantees for the contents of pre-school education and supporting the consolidation of preschool education as the basic element of the educational system.

In the effort to stabilize researchers and pedagogical staff, we want to create scope for the drafting of a proposal for the systemization [systemizacia] of university jobs and address the issue of university teachers' and researchers' salaries. With the aim of rationalizing and making more transparent the spending of financial resources in the sphere of education, we will work out principles to be used in drafting a law on financing education. We want to devote attention to the development of international cooperation in the sphere of education, science, and technology, with emphasis on the more distinct involvement of universities, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and departmental research and development institutes in international cooperation programs.

Culture

The government will draft a basic long-term strategy concept for developing culture under the conditions of the transformation of the economic and social system. It will also prepare a basic model of the organizational arrangement and financing of culture, a model that will ensure functional ties in the emerging market environment.

The government's basic aim is to establish legislative prerequisites for the transition from the central financing of culture toward providing incentives, and introducing preferences, for investments in this sphere. At the same time, it is necessary to retain the possibility of supporting directly, by means of the state-run PRO SLOVAKIA [as published] fund, those areas of culture in which the market instruments do not assert themselves. We will support the drafting of an analysis of the functioning of this fund, with emphasis on the attainment of the expected targets and its position [sentence as published].

We will continue our efforts to finalize the legislative, political, and social scope for the functioning of media at the level of the European standard. The law on the mass media, now in preparation, and the law on economic support for the periodical press will lay the groundwork for this.

We want to continue supporting the activity of churches and develop cooperation with them on the basis of partnership. The present good relations will have to be put on a legislative footing corresponding to the standard customary in the advanced democratic states of Western Europe.

The difficult financial situation in culture is also a result of indebtedness and of the failure to commence the privatization of cultural facilities. This is true, in particular, of the Slovak Film Production company, which loses Sk40 million annually. The required settlement of debts is often being ensured through the sale of property. In this regard, it is necessary to speedily privatize the film studios of Slovak Film Production.

We consider it essential to finally resolve the problems of privatization in the sphere of culture, particularly of entities involved in the publication of books and in cinematography.

Complicated problems arise from the failure to approve the license for the second channel of Slovak Television. This issue will have to be resolved as soon as possible.

We want to make visible progress in dealing with short-term problems. This concerns financial and legislative provisions for the opening of the Kosice State Theater and the theater in Zvolen. It is also necessary to secure nonbudget funds to finance the completion of the National Theater.

An important task is to distribute financial resources for individual spheres of culture according to "cultural" and not political criteria.

Debts accumulated over the past few years complicate and limit the care of monuments, cultural values, and galleries. In contrast to past practices, an accommodating attitude and dialogue are necessary in financing local culture, some branches of culture, particularly graphic arts, music, and books, as well as the development of ethnic minorities' cultures.

One of the immediate tasks in the sphere of culture will be to make transparent the flow of finances into the development of ethnic minorities' cultures. In conjunction with this, it will be necessary to prepare legislative procedures for financing the culture of national minorities and ethnic groups while providing for direct control by representatives of minorities and ethnic groups. The government sets itself the task to improve, in cooperation with the Slovak Heritage Foundation, the moral and financial care of Slovaks living in areas where Slovak culture and the cultures of ethnic minorities exert influence on one another.

We will support talks with all artists' associations and seek common aims with them in the interest of developing Slovak culture. The implementation of this intention is also associated with limiting and, ultimately, eliminating the preferential treatment of certain groups at the expense of others.

We want to approach in a novel way the arrangement of relations with the Czech Republic regarding the exchange of objects and values of cultural heritage.

We set ourselves the task of working out a concept for the presentation of Slovak culture abroad. This concept must lay down guarantees ruling out the duality and degradation [dualita a degradacia] of the presentation of individual cultures of the Slovak Republic abroad.

Ethnic Policy

The government considers it an important task to secure the rights of ethnic minorities, and to establish conditions for their fully fledged development, in the spirit of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic as well as ratified and transformed international agreements pertaining to the rights of citizens belonging to ethnic minorities.

We would like to achieve social consensus that will guarantee the stability and peaceful coexistence of all citizens of the Slovak Republic, regardless of nationality and the color of their skin. A prerequisite for this necessary consensus is the mutuality of rights and duties, combined with the civic principle. The government is prepared to provide all necessary guarantees of rights to persons belonging to ethnic minorities.

Instead of confrontation, we will introduce the mechanism of permanent dialogue as a method that promotes cooperation and seeks consensus in generating and exercising rights of citizens belonging to ethnic minorities.

We will resolve the issue of designation of the names of towns and communities. Following up on the valid legislation regarding citizenship and names and surnames, we will prepare a draft law on [birth and marriage] registers as well as a proposal for its execution by means of generally binding legal regulations.

State, Democracy, Law, and Public Order

The government will continue building a state based on the rule of law and a modern legal system. It will support all positive processes leading to the formation of a democratic environment and the rule of law, particularly in the sphere of enhancing guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms, reinforcing the independence and improving the efficiency of the judiciary, and strengthening compliance with the Constitution and legal guarantees by means of control by the courts. On the other hand, it expects all citizens of the Slovak Republic to fulfill their constitutional civic duties, which is an important prerequisite of eliminating instances of ultranationalism, irredentism, and separatism.

We consider it important that all necessary conditions be established for reinforcing the key elements and links of the constitutional form of government, that is, parliamentary republic, with emphasis on the government's constitutional and political accountability to parliament. Our task is to continue decentralizing the state by devolving the appropriate powers to community and regional self-administrative bodies and reinforcing the self-regulation of the civic society's life. The economic reform is also a reform of the state and must reduce the state's interference in the economy and the state's "redistribution" functions.

The government's intention in this sphere is to concurrently support the idea of constitutionalism [konstitucionalizmus], that is, the stability of the Constitution and its supremacy over the parliament, government, president, the Constitutional Court, the judiciary at large, and the civic society.

In building a state based on the rule of law, we will explore the possibilities of introducing the institution of the ombudsman and improving the system of protecting the legal status of citizens.

The government will seek to eliminate shortcomings in state administration, reflected in the passivity of state agencies, procrastination, and decisions running counter to the Constitution and laws. It will establish the prerequisites for transparency in the operation of state and self-administrative bodies. It will give comprehensive support to all institutions guaranteeing the protection of the Constitution, the democratic system, and the integrity and sovereignty of the state, and all instruments preventing the concentration of power, particularly state and economic power, in the hands of a single body or even in the hands of an individual.

We will take steps to transform government administration. Our aim is to improve the government's efficiency, reduce administrative costs, make transparent the activity of state agencies, establish prerequisites for professionalism and ethics in the work of the government administration, and change the style of the government's work.

We will support all efforts aimed at improving the quality of the activity of courts and at effectively enforcing their independent operation and status as well as their professional ethics.

The government will continue to implement the concept of stabilizing the judiciary of the Slovak Republic that was approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic. By means of legislative proposals and organizational and financial measures, it will establish conditions for improving the quality and effective exertion of independent judicial power as an essential and equal branch of power in a democratic state based on the rule of law.

Amending and recodifying [rekodifikacia] laws pertaining to the judiciary will represent an organic part of purposeful steps leading toward the completion of the democratic legal system.

The government will submit the draft principles of laws on judges, the state administration of courts, and court executors, as well as a draft law that changes and amends the law on courts and judges. The government regards as particularly important the preparation of the draft principles of recodifying the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure.

We want to continue creating conditions for establishing the office of the Slovak Republic's legal representative for proceedings before the European Commission for Human Rights and the European Court for Human Rights in Strasbourg.

The government will seek to further raise the functionality of local state administration and self-administrative bodies, strengthen their powers, and de-politicize local state administration. It will reassess the time frame for the implementation of the reform of public administration and the reform of the Slovak Republic's territorial and administrative division.

In implementing reform in public administration, we will devote special attention to the rational structure of local state administration bodies, to the devolution of powers from state administration to local self-administrative bodies, to the formation of self-administration in higher-level territorial entities, and to the problem of financial flows in this area. The sequence of pragmatic solutions will be determined so as to guarantee their continuity and so that it results in the proposal for a new territorial and administrative division of the Slovak Republic.

In implementing legal policy, the government will proceed from the long-term program of the Slovak Republic in combating crime, including effective prevention. It will complete the institutional framework for crime prevention within individual government departments. It will give support to all constitutional measures aimed at speeding up and facilitating preparatory procedures.

With the aim of limiting various forms of social pathology and crime, in particular, the government will prepare a draft law on combating the most serious, especially organized, forms of criminal activity and the legalization of income stemming from such activity. It will also complete, and soon submit [to parliament], proposals for extensive amendments to the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, which will, at the same time, mark the first phase of changes to the criminal law codes.

The government will raise the effectiveness of the struggle against organized crime, including international organized crime, by means of close cooperation with foreign police forces and cooperation at the level of other bodies involved in the suppression of crime.

With regard to the prison system, the government will establish further norms to govern the serving of prison terms and will see to the creation of prerequisites for the employment of convicts.

The government will establish the prerequisites for a comprehensive system of protecting the state border against illegal migration.

Our immediate aim is not only to make public life more democratic, but also to strengthen public order and social responsibility for public affairs at the level of the community and the whole state.

In conjunction with the preparation of elections to the National Council of the Slovak Republic and community self-administrative bodies, the government will prepare and introduce the appropriate organizational, technical, and material measures, in harmony with the Constitution and laws.

Aims and Tasks in Legislation

An important intention of the government is to strive for a functional and internally harmonious legal system, so that there are no discrepancies among individual legal norms, their compatibility with the European law is increased, and their life span extended. The government's aim in this area is to contribute to the stabilization of developments in the republic and to gradually establish a democratic, cooperative, and peaceful environment for building our state. In addition, the government will ensure the better orientation of citizens in the rapidly changing legal system of the republic. It will coordinate the entire process of the massive transformation of legislation to a far greater degree than has been the case thus far.

The passage of the amendment to the law on the organization of ministries and other central bodies of state administration, which the government pushed through in the National Council of the Slovak Republic immediately after its appointment, put an end to the provisional situation that arose in the wake of the transfer of the former federation's powers to the Slovak Republic. The passage of this law wound up the building of the institutions of the young state and established prerequisites for its operation as a law- governed state.

In the period running up to the September elections, the government will place emphasis, in the legislative sphere, on the establishment of basic legislative rules for the stable functioning of the state.

The key long-term task in the legislative sphere is to ensure the compatibility of our legal system with laws of the European Union. The implementation of this task is urgent also because, thus far, the Slovak Republic did not devote the appropriate attention to the fulfillment of this commitment, which arises from the association agreement concluded between the CSFR and the European Community.

It will be necessary to reexamine the compatibility of our legal regulations with the appropriate Council of Europe agreements to which the Slovak Republic is a contracting party, and to adopt measures necessary to meet the adopted commitments. It will also be appropriate to analyze those Council of Europe conventions to which the Slovak Republic is not a contracting party from the viewpoint of our possible accession to them.

With this in mind, the government is determined to prepare its legislative proposals so that the legal system of the Slovak Republic is brought closer to European law, in spirit as well as in contents. The government will establish conditions to raise the standard, and importance, of comparative legal studies.

The basic intentions in the legislative sphere proceed from the government's general intention to stabilize developments in the Slovak Republic and to establish conditions for the peaceful building of the state.

To make this possible, systemic prerequisites must be established for purity of public life. We are firmly determined to prepare and enforce in the National Council of the Slovak Republic a law on preventing conflicts of interest in the performance of duties, which would pertain to constitutional and higher-level state administration officials. This law will put an end to the practice of higher-level state officials collecting several salaries from the state and will render it impossible for state officials to exploit their post for illicit profits from entrepreneurial activity. We will prepare a law that will lay down the obligation to prove the origin of financial resources used in privatization. Only such systemic legislative provisions for the purity of public life can restore citizens' trust in their representatives in state bodies and in state institutions in general. The peaceful building of our republic would be impossible without this basic trust.

The government considers it important to improve conditions for the entrepreneurial sphere and for the operation of non-profit organizations. With this in mind, it will prepare a law on state support for small and medium-sized business, as well as a draft law on foundations and civic associations.

The rise in crime and, in particular, the emergence of new forms of crime, compel us to proceed energetically in this sphere. In the legislative sphere, this means expeditiously preparing and submitting a law on combating organized crime as well as amendments to the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure. In the principles of a new Penal Code and a new Code of Criminal Procedure, the government will formulate its fundamental plans for the future.

In its legislative activity, the government is prepared to meet also those international commitments that were assumed by the former government.

We attach extraordinary importance to the consolidation and stabilization of state administration. We want to submit to the National Council of the Slovak Republic a law on civil service that will make it possible to improve the execution of the state administration and to separate qualified staff from political functions.

The government's legislative activity will also extend to the preparation of new parliamentary rules of procedure and, possibly, to the improvement of legislative conditions for the parliamentary and communal elections in 1994.

The Security and the Defense of the State

The government will complete principal documents regarding the concepts for Slovak Republic's security and defense policy—which are: the Basic Objectives and the Principles for the Slovak Republic's National Security, the Slovak Republic's Defense Doctrine, the Strategic Concept for the Defense of the Slovak Republic, and the Concept for the Building of the Army of the Slovak Republic—and will present them to the applicable bodies for approval. Within the framework of the Partnership For Peace plan, the government will present to the National Council of the Slovak Republic a Presentation Document, in which our cooperation with NATO will be outlined. In the interests of laying down the foundations for the legal basis of the defense of our democratic state, the government will draft a bill on the Slovak Republic's defense, on the Slovak Republic Army, on compulsory military service, and on the working conditions of the soldiers of the Slovak Republic Army.

The government wants to consistently continue the transformation of the army. In this framework, the government will demand that the Defense Ministry should precisely define its own jurisdiction in the military, political, and executive spheres, and create conditions for introducing systemic management and increasing the powers of the lover organizational structures. It is necessary to gradually introduce the system of defensive planning, programming, and budgeting. By introducing these qualitative changes, the government wants to free the huge human potential in the army, be able to utilize material and financial resources more rationally and efficiently, and create systemic prerequisites for a democratic control of the army.

The Defense Ministry will draft a concept for social policy, in which it will pay increased attention to the solution of the problems linked to the living conditions of the individual groups of soldiers, improvement of the overall atmosphere in the army, and improvement in relations between its members. In the Ministry of

Defense sector, education toward patriotism will improve, and a concept for religious services within the army will be drafted.

The Slovak Republic Government has decided to build the army within the framework of the adopted international obligations so that this army might become a modern army, sufficiently armed and trained for the defense of our country.

Foreign Policy

The objectives and priorities of the Slovak Republic's foreign policy were correctly set out after the establishment of the independent state. In the past period, the decisive political forces adopted them. In this way, the basic prerequisites have been established for political consensus needed in the country, which is in the process of establishing itself in international relations. This consensus was significantly confirmed in practice when the government of wide coalition was established. This is a good signal to foreign countries.

A full integration of Slovakia in European political, economic, and security structures is a priority of strategic importance. We realize the significance of our future membership in the European Union. We want to create our path to our membership by developing all-encompassing relations with the European Union and its individual members. The internal prerequisite for the success of our efforts is a further stabilization of our democratic institutions, a speedy continuation of economic transformation, and respect for the principles of our legal system. We are going to cooperate in harmonizing the Slovak Republic's legal system with the European laws. Our pushing the individual countries of the European Union toward the smooth completion of the ratification process outlined in the European Association Treaty will be our most topical task in the upcoming period.

The government confirms the interest of the Slovak Republic in obtaining full membership in NATO and the Western European Union. This objective is not based on any imminent threat, but on the logic of our orientation and our scale of values. The government will use the opportunity given to us in the Partnership For Peace plan. In relation to the Western European Union, the government will take diplomatic steps to qualitatively improve our status, with the aim of achieving as-close-as-possible cooperation with all the Western European Union's structures.

The Slovak Republic will build on its successful activity in the United Nations and its specialized agencies. By being active in the UN peacekeeping forces, we are also accepting the responsibility for keeping peace on the global scale. We are also going to use our presence in the CSCE process, where we will build on our experience from work in the Troika.

The Slovak Republic's membership in the Council of Europe has a key role in the development of democratic institutions and the protection of human rights. We are going to create legislative prerequisites for meeting the recommendations of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly in connection with the Slovak Republic's joining the Council of Europe. We want our experts to be more active in the process of drafting new documents and legal norms in the Council of Europe, mainly those documents that deal with the protection of the rights of ethnic minorities. The government will prepare an analysis of the conditions for the Slovak Republic's joining the European charter of Regional and Minority Languages, and the European Charter of Local Self-Administration.

The government is aware of the fact that every successful step of the state in the sphere of multilateral diplomacy is also dependent on the large scale of harmonious bilateral relations, particularly with our closest neighbors. The government is interested in forming relations with the neighboring countries in the spirit of modern European cooperation. Slovakia will act as a reliable and cooperating partner. We are expecting a similar attitude from our neighbors. We are convinced that this type of cooperation will bring a double benefit. It will mobilize the hidden potential of bilateral relations and create favorable conditions for trustworthy integration of the Central European countries in the process of Europe's unification. In this sense, we are also understanding of the European Union's initiative—the Pact of Stability—which can help create political conditions for the integration of the Central European countries in the European Union, while respecting the interests of the participating countries and retaining wide stability in our region. We are aware of the fact that a satisfactory solution of the problems linked to the people belonging to ethnic minorities is part of European stability. We will pay extra attention, in particular, to cooperation with our neighbors that are undergoing the transformation process, namely the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary. After the most recent decision on the conditions for Austria's joining the European Union, the existing importance of our relations with Austria will grow even more. We are very interested in cooperating with Ukraine and in a successful completion of the transformation process in this important European country.

The government will make efforts to develop advantageous relations and a high level of political dialogue with other European countries. We are interested in broadening and intensifying cooperation with the United States and Canada with the aim of strengthening the transatlantic dimension of the Slovak Republic's foreign policy. The Slovak Republic is also interested in maintaining good relations and general cooperation with the Russian Federation. In the economic sphere, the government will create proper conditions for developing cooperation, particularly with the G-7 countries and the OECD, while it will pay increased attention to the dynamically developing Pacific region. Searching for cooperation in other parts of the world will become a permanent task for our diplomacy.

A greater level of involvement of the tools of Slovak diplomacy and closer coordination with economic sectors in the sphere of pushing for the Slovak Republic's interests must become a significant feature of our efforts in the period to come. It is possible to push for Slovak interests abroad only if our foreign service is fully professional and the leading positions at our diplomatic missions abroad filled.

To provide objective information to the foreign countries on the developments in the country and to intensify communication with our partners is a permanent task for the government. The government confirms the necessity to develop the closest contacts with our people living abroad.

The government will consistently secure the coordination of foreign policy activities and is prepared to coordinate closely with the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the president of the Slovak Republic in order to fully utilize constitutional bodies of the state in the interests of strengthening the international position of the Slovak Republic. We have to realize that the smaller the country is, the more professional its foreign policy must be for it to assume a firm position in the network of international relations.

The government is convinced that, when pushing for our foreign policy interests, we do not have to create an atmosphere of fear and create the image of an enemy. In foreign policy we want to solve problems in a businesslike manner, professionally, with a feeling of responsibility for the destiny of our country.

Conclusion

The government is presenting its policy statement while being aware of the fact that it has a mandate for only six months. From its contents it is clear that the government will not conduct policy aimed at creating effects for the election campaign. The government is not going to postpone important decisions. On the contrary, it will create conditions for making the inevitable changes more dynamic, the objective of which is political stability, economic prosperity, and a free and fruitful civic society.

The government coalition initiated early elections. It did not do so because of self-interests, or in fearing responsibility. The government is convinced that, in this short period, it can show the Slovak citizens that there is an alternative to the way of governing the country, an alternative that avoids confrontational and strong-arm gestures in politics, and an alternative that can improve the respect for our country abroad. We believe in the increasing power of civic democratic society and are convinced that when parliamentary elections are held, we will be able to look the electorate in the eye and accept its decision. Before this happens, we want to call on all the people to join our work for the benefit of the Slovak Republic.

FRY's Jovanovic on NATO Ultimatum, Ties

AU2304142494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] At the end of a meeting this morning with Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic stated to the press that the NATO ultimatum against the Bosnian Serbs provokes antagonism and complicates the situation in Bosnia because NATO is only pressuring the Serbs and is not taking into account the military actions of the Bosnian Muslims. On the other hand, Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic declared that the cease-fire agreement in Gorazde, which was reached yesterday in Belgrade, represents an appropriate way to find a solution to the crisis and that the Belgrade leadership insists on the immediate cessation of hostilities.

Apart from the Bosnian conflict, discussions between the two foreign ministers also focused on bilateral relations. The sides agreed that Romanian and Yugoslav experts will soon meet in order to finalize the text of the basic political treaty between the two states, our correspondent Eugen Baboi informed us.

Iliescu Interviewed on Past, Future of Europe

AU2504110794 Bucharest DIMINEATA Supplement in Romanian 16 Apr 94 pp 3, 4

["Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by the Greek magazine BALKAN NEWS AND EAST EUROPEAN REPORT" in Bucharest on 22 March 1994]

[Text] [Reporter] How do you view the development of Europe and what role will Romania play in that future development?

[Iliescu] After the events in 1989 in the Central and East European countries, the physiognomy of Europe radically changed.

Although the Cold War was over, we had to face prejudice and certain tendencies toward the discriminatory treatment of East European countries. I believe that the future Europe should consist of countries that develop relations of cooperation and not confrontation.

Last year Romania succeeded in removing the last barriers that affected its image. It became a member of the Council of Europe with full rights and obtained most-favored-nation status from the United States. This year, Romania was the first country to sign the Partnership for Peace with NATO. We propose to keep up this rapid pace of integration in Europe and develop good relations with the United States, the Far East, and other countries of the world.

The recent accord not only represents financial support but it is also a moral credit granted to our country. It speaks for itself about the fact that, according to experts, Romania has to play an important role because of its natural resources, its people's high level of education, the efficiency of its government, and its privileged geographical position, which permits control over air routes and waterways that connect Europe and the Middle East and mainly the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal.

[Reporter] In the past months, after the political changes stabilized in Central and East Europe, we witnessed the first real signs of redistribution of influence between the major powers. Could you please comment on this?

[Iliescu] Unfortunately, I cannot fully agree with you that all political changes in Central and Easter Europe have been stabilized. While this is obvious for such states as Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, in terms of the former federations, such as Yugoslavia and USSR, the current stabilization is still fragile.

Second, I believe that the example of shares of influence of the great powers belongs to an old mentality that is specific to the Cold War rather than to current relations. I rather see the near future of this part of the world in terms of distribution of areas of influence between big and average centers of power. The former socialist countries in Europe should mainly recuperate the technological and managerial deficiency that separates them from West Europe to be able to make full use of its resources, among which I would call human resources as the major one. All this should not turn former socialist countries in competitors for West Europe; on the contrary, we should become equal and solid partners in the act of building a stronger, more stable, and more prosperous Europe. That is why the last thing we need now is a conflict for hegemony, no matter whether we are talking about the attempt of one country to expand its hegemony or the need to defend itself from foreign hegemony.

I believe that the Partnership for Peace and the prospects for complete integration of these countries in NATO represents the first step toward the achievement of a greater stability in the area. But this has to be completed with an initiative of the Partnership for Development, according to similar concepts and organized around the same institutions.

[Reporter] After the downfall of totalitarian regimes in Europe and after the real abolition of the Warsaw Pact, what do you believe will be the role of NATO in the world and especially in Europe?

[Iliescu] Just like all the other East European countries, we are naturally concerned about our security. We regard NATO as a successful alliance, which has been one of the major pillars of security in Europe after World War II. What is really important is the fact that NATO's development should not be reduced to a simple expansion of its umbrella with a few hundred kilometers toward east, but NATO should turn into a factor of security for all countries in this region.

The proposal of the Partnership for Peace shirks the danger of establishing new and aimless discrimination among the countries that are candidates to become NATO members and offers equal chance to all these countries. That is why we joined this formula of cooperation and were the first country that took this step. However, our final goal is to become members with full rights of NATO.

We suggested the Partnership for Development, as a component of the Partnership for Peace in Europe and the North American region. The European Union can represent an adequate framework for the development of this concept. What is important for us in Europe is to overcome the stage of confrontation and suspicion and understand that the problems that exist both in East as well in West Europe can be solved through a broad opening of gates toward a free circulation of capital, of knowhow, goods, and people. In the long run, through adequate administration, the inevitable phenomenon of a united Europe will lead not to competition among European countries but to cooperation and greater prosperity for everybody.

[Reporter] In the less than three years since the Soviet Union ceased to exist, we have witnessed a new situation prevailing among former Soviet republics, which we can see in the military, political, and financial areas. Could you please comment on this?

[Iliescu] The situations differ in each case, according to the republics that we refer to, in Asia Minor, in the Caucasus, or the Western republics of the former USSR. However, even among the countries that belong to this last group, things differ, whether it is one of the Slavic republics, one of the Baltic republics, or the republic of Moldova, the only one that has no common borders with the Russian Federation. But, at the same time, all these republics have many common elements. First of all, the high rate of economic integration that prevailed in the former USSR, made these countries economically dependent on each other, but mainly on Russia. Therefore, I believe that in case of most of these countries to expect them to change overnight is not a realistic demand. On the other hand, however, it is essential for them to gradually develop their alternative economic ties, in order to defend their independence and prevent Moscow having a monopoly.

Second, unfortunately, all political forces in Russia manifest an increasingly higher degree of nostalgia for its former imperial role. These very conservative, imperial forces are the ones that try to keep strategic control over foreign lands, sometimes even at the cost of war. I am going to give you a very significant example for Europe, especially for the situation in the Balkans: what is the role of the 14th [Russian] Army in Moldova, on the banks of the Dniester River, at a distance of almost 1,000 kilometers from Russia and on the territory of a sovereign state, which is not even Russia's neighbor? The imperial nostalgia affects all the former republics of the USSR, including Russia. Instead of concentrating its efforts on economic and social problems, Russia will waste its efforts in other ways and the result can be none other than the continuation of the decline in the standard of living and in political coherence, with the possible restoration of an anti- democratic regime. Therefore, all of us are and must be interested in strengthening democratic forces and in ensuring the success of economic reform in the Russian Federation.

[Reporter] You will visit Greece next week. What do you think Greece could do for Romania's integration in Europe, especially now when Greece holds the presidency of the European Union and, furthermore, Greece is the first country that ratified the treaty of Romania's association to the European Union?

[Iliescu] I believe that the official visit to Greece, which will take place on 30 and 31 March, represents an extremely important moment both for our bilateral relations and for developments in the Balkans.

The excellent Romanian-Greek relations are based on longstanding traditions and on mutual advantage and support. We are grateful to Greece for the support granted to Romania to achieve its strategic objective of integration in the European Union. As you have mentioned, the Greek Parliament was the first to ratify the Treaty of Romania's association to the European Union. We wish to express thanks again for this act and we sincerely hope that our Greek friends will make all possible efforts to see to it that the respective treaty is ratified by all members of the European Union. Likewise, we appreciate the friendly support granted by Greece for the admittance of Romania to the Council of Europe. We are convinced that Greece can make a new and important contribution in all stages of Romania's integration in Euro-Atlantic structures. And last but not least, we rely on Greece's cooperation in promoting certain economic projects in the Balkans, with the assistance of European financial bodies, for the benefit of all countries in the region, including Romania certainly.

[Reporter] How do you view the issue of former Yugoslavia and the Macedonia issue?

[Iliescu] The emergence of new states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is a reality. Most of them have been accepted in the United Nations and recognized by the international community. The promotion of normal relations with these states is an action that makes a contribution to the efforts to overcome tension and increase confidence and stability in our region.

The meetings that took place between officials in Romania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, made it possible for us to find solutions to current aspects of cooperation and the movement of our citizens. Therefore, a Romanian Trade Office and Romanian consular office have opened in Skopje.

I am convinced that problems facing Greece and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will be solved by both sides through dialogue and understanding, because of the need to have relations of good neighborliness and in the interest of cooperation, mutual confidence, security, and peace in the region.

Situation in Gorazde—25 April

Serbs: Withdrawal Continues

LD2504103194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 25 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Cajnice, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—The cease-fire on the Gorazde front is today being violated only by Muslim snipers firing from the town center in a vain attempt to provoke the Serbian army, it has been announced in the command of the Herzegovina Corps [of the Bosnian Serb forces]. The command says that, in line with the Karadzic-Akashi agreement, the Serbian forces are today continuing to withdraw to 3 km from the center of Gorazde, while heavy weapons have been withdrawn to the agreed distance of 20 km. [passage omitted] Serbian military sources say that scattered Muslim forces are withdrawing from the center of Gorazde and regrouping in Orahovica, northwest of the town, probably planning to link up with their forces on Mount Igman near Sarajevo.

Serbs 'Scorching the Earth'

AU2504084694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 25 Apr 94

[Report by Enes Musevic]

[Text] After 28 days and nights of the worst hell, the citizens of Gorazde that have survived seem to have entered better and quieter times. This is suggested by events since early this morning. The chetnik snipers, anti-aircraft weapons, and tanks have fallen silent. Under pressure from the international community and with the arrival of the first contingent of blue helmets, the murderers from the hills do not seem to live here any more.

The first estimates suggest that the chetniks—despite the considerable delay considering the NATO deadline—have started to withdraw from the points from where they have been sowing death in Gorazde. The chetniks are scorching the earth as they pull back. The members of the Ukrainian battalion that arrived in Gorazde on Saturday evening have started to impose a buffer zone in the region. The result is obvious: There is no more blood in the streets of Gorazde, there is no more death, screams, and pain.

After more than a month a UNHCR convoy with food and medicine managed to enter Gorazde late last night. Another humanitarian convoy has been announced for today for the starved and bleeding Gorazde. Still, the main concern of the people is today's resumption of the evacuation of the badly wounded from the Gorazde hospital.

More U.N. Troops Arrive

LD2504105194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1030 GMT 25 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—Another 247 members of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were early on Monday [25 April] deployed between the warring local Serb and Muslim troops in Gorazde, Muslim enclave in southeast Bosnia-Herzegovina, a U.N. spokesman said. According to REUTERS, the British, Russian and Egyptian soldiers joined the 200 U.N. troops which had arrived in Gorazde on Saturday. The aim of the U.N. peacekeepers in Gorazde is to form a buffer between the belligerent sides, to secure the safety of the humanitarian agencies and monitor the withdrawal of the Serb heavy artillery to 20 km away from the centre of the town, as called by a NATO ultimatum which expires at midnight Tuesday.

TANJUG: Muslims Massacred Serbs

LD2504122594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1202 GMT 25 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Moslem authorities in Gorazde have killed, tortured and in different ways maltreated several hundreds of Bosnian Serbs, thus abusing this U.N.-designated "safe area". About 12,000 Serbs lived in this town before the outbreak of the civil war. Moslems did not even spare the dead, because they demolished the Serb graveyard. Moreover, they pulled down St. George's church built in the 13th century. The truth about Moslem crimes against Serbs started coming out only after the Bosnian Serb army had reached the outskirts of the town, having first crushed in a counter-attack the Moslem offensive, mounted right from Gorazde, the Belgrade dailies VECERNJE NOVOSTI and EKSPRES POLITIKA write on Monday.

After the failure of the Moslem offensive waged in very sight of U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) members, the Moslem authorities committed horrible atrocities against Serbs, and then showed the massacred bodies of the dead to foreign reporters claiming that they were victims of "Serb shells and snipers." There is "a special job" in some parts of Gorazde called "pushing the massacred bodies of dead Serbs" into the river Drina, the Belgrade dailies write.

In the section of the town under control of notorious Moslem fundamentalist Ferid Buljubasic, there is still some 400 Serbs. In that section of the town, from which Moslems open mortar and sniper fire violating a truce, there are prisoner camps for Serbs. In the camp in the Vinarici settlement and "printing-works" and "cement works" in Vitkovici near Gorazde, hundreds of Serbs (men and women) have been tortured and killed, the dailies write.

Moslems killed seven Serb soldiers captured in early August 1992, having tortured them first in the most brutal way. They were kept in the Trnovrh prisoner camp overhanging the town. One of the captured Serb soldiers, Rade Kacar, cut the agony of being tortured and humiliated by hanging himself while the bodies of the other six soldiers were thrown into the river Drina which runs through Gorazde. In the Serb village of Crkvice near Gorazde Moslems killed the entire population and completely burned down the village.

Western media zealously reported about the U.S. relief operation "Provide Promise", but was silent about NATO aircraft supplying 15,000 Moslems troops in Gorazde with up-to-date weapons over the past months, although Gorazde is a U.N.-designated "safe area" and as such should have been demilitarized as far back as last spring, the Belgrade dailies say.

The Bosnian Serb army has come into possession of the information that NATO aircraft have been dropping weapons and ammunition to Moslems in Gorazde every night in recent months, the dailies say.

Situation in Gorazde—24 April

'No Shots' Fired

LD2404153594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1517 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, Apr 24 (TANJUG)—No shots were fired from Serb positions around Gorazde since Sunday morning, even though the Bosnian Serb command in the region has reported that the Moslem side is obstinately trying to provoke return fire and obtain an intervention of NATO war planes. The forces of the Bosnian Serb republic (R.S.) on Sunday continued implementing the agreement on Gorazde signed by R.S. president Radovan Karadzic and UNPROFOR chief Yasushi Akashi on Friday in Belgrade, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

The command of the Herzegovina Corps of the Bosnian Serb army has stated that artillery units have already withdrawn and that when the U.N. forces are deployed along the demarcation lines between Moslem and Serb forces, the infantry would also withdraw to three km away from Gorazde, in line with the Akashi-Karadzic agreement. Striving to fully contribute to the implementation of the Belgrade agreement on Gorazde, the Bosnian Serbs have agreed to the sending of another UNPROFOR unit to Gorazde and a wide scale humanitarian mission in that area, the TANJUG correspondent has learned from Bosnian Serb army souces.

An additional UNPROFOR batallion was to leave Sarajevo for Gorazde at 1400 local time and the beginning of the evacuation by air of the sick, the wounded and accompanying family members when necessary was planned simultaneously. The UNPROFOR helicopters which will shuttle from Sarajevo to Gorazde will land every time in the Serb territory at Sokolac for Serb control of the abidance by the agreement on evacuation, the sources said.

On Sunday morning just as during the previous night, Moslem forces in Gorazde itself intentionaly caused explosions trying to imitate a Serb artillery attack in a bid to bring about NATO air strikes. Sniper fire was also opened several times Sunday on Serb positions, but without effect. However, as the first U.N. convoy was entering Gorazde Saturday evening at Kopaci, three km away from the town, the Moslems opened sniper fire on Serb positions wounding one Serb combattant, under the very eyes of French General Andre Soubirou. The general, who was watching all this without reacting, just shrugged disinterestedly. The NATO planes are frequently flying over the Gorazde front line on Sunday in groups of ten, but at allowed altitude and without attacking.

The Herzegovina Corps command pointed out that there is reason to suspect that Moslem infantry would try to take advantage of the withdrawal of the Serb forces to take the empty space before the U.N. peacekeepers arrive. The Serb forces' command has stated that in the past few days, the Moslems in Gorazde massacred nearly 200 Serbs remaining in the town. A few Serbs who managed to escape from the town at the last minute two days ago reported on mass killing of Serbs in the town but could not provide precise figures.

Many Serb refugees from Gorazde who watched Moslem television showing massacred bodies and claiming they were Moslems killed by Serb artillery in Gorazde actually recognized Serb civilians among the killed. Bosnian Serb Captain Boro Ivanovic said there were nearly one thousand Serb civilians in Gorazde until a year ago. After many murders committed by Moslems, only about 300 Serbs now remain in the town, he said.

French General: Serbs Complying

AU2404172894 Paris AFP in English 1627 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Zagreb, April 24 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces appear to have complied with a NATO ultimatum to withdraw three kilometers from the center of Gorazde or face air strikes, the head of UN forces in the former Yugoslavia said Sunday [24 April]. In an interview with AFP here, French General Bertrand de Lapresle said the Serbs were observing a ceasefire and "have withdrawn beyond the three-kilometer line, as far as we can tell." [passage omitted]

Serbian Expellees Return

LD2404170794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—The return of Serbs expelled from their homes by the Muslims began this afternoon at the same time as the deployment of UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] troops along the demarcation line between the warring sides on the Gorazde front. Several hundred Serbian civilians from Donja Potkozara, Gornja Potkozara, Zupcici, Lug, Visevica, and other villages have returned to their homes after almost two years spent as refugees. They decided to return after UN representatives offered them guarantees that they would be secure. On their return the Serbian civilians found utter devastation in their villages because the Muslims had razed and burned to the ground all houses and other buildings. However, they hope that they will receive aid in rebuilding their razed homes and that UNPROFOR representatives will be a true guarantee that the Muslims will not massacre them in their villages again.

Serbian Snipers Kill Two

LD2404142994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Report by unidentified reporter from Gorazde—recorded]

[Excerpts] We are in twelfth hour since the expiration of the NATO ultimatum deadline for the withdrawal of the chetniks outside the three-km exclusion zone around Gorazde. That NATO can easily forget its ultimatum issued to the Serbs is best confirmed by chetnik snipers who killed two women this morning: One was killed in the suburb of [name indistinct], and another one was killed on the bridge over the Drina River in the central part of the town. According to details available to us at the moment, they have also wounded 15 people. [passage omitted]

The latest reports from the region of Kopaci say that an armored personnel carrier arrived in the suburb of (?Kokino Selo) bringing in fascists who are systematically setting fire to houses in the suburb and laying antipersonnel mines. Strong explosions are reverberating in the region of Pobjeda enterprise: plants belonging to this industrial complex are being destroyed. When this report was filed we heard from Pobjeda enterprise that chetnik shells completely devastated the only (?auxiliary) water supply system with nonpotable water, though it has been used as drinking water for the past two years. Now the population can use only several freshwater sources in the central part of the town, but they are under constant sniper fire coming from the other bank of the Drina River. [passage omitted]

Convoy Experiences Sniper Fire

LD2404044294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Text] This morning, following the expiry of the NATO ultimatum, our correspondent filed this report at about 0000 GMT.

Twelve minutes past midnight, two UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] armored carriers carrying Ukrainian soldiers entered Gorazde. They were welcomed by antiaircraft weapons fired from chetnik positions at the approach to the town. In the town center, they came across sniper fire from the hills on the right bank of the Drina. The rest of the convoy started entering Gorazde at 0145 hours. French General Soubirou, the commander of the Sarajevo sector [word indistinct] also arrived aboard this convoy.

No changes have been sighted at the chetnik positions. The snipers are still firing at the main communications and crossroads. At 0100 hours sharp, a large-caliber shell landed in the town center, followed by several explosions on the outskirts of the town. According to initial reports, some people were wounded. At 0200 hours, the chetniks on the right bank of the Drina were still only a few hundred meters from the hospital. Fahrudin Becic reporting for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and TV from Gorazde.

Situation in Gorazde—23 April

Attack Diminishing

LD2304204694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Report by Fahrudin Becic from Gorazde]

[Text] Overflights by NATO planes were again registered sometime before 2200 hours. The activities of the aggressor have significantly diminished compared to this afternoon and the early hours of this evening, but tank and howitzer shells are from time to time landing on the town. Firing from infantry weapons has also diminished in intensity compared to what it was an hour or so ago. However, there are no indications that the aggressor is withdrawing, something that is demanded by the NATO ultimatum. But there is evidence that attacks on the Rogatica and Pale areas of the battlefield are intensifying. Fresh and stormy events are probably in store in this area.

Attack Kills 21

LD2304204894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Report by Fahrudin Becic for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television]

[Text] After a very short break between 1800 and 1900, explosions can be heard again in Gorazde. Several apartment blocks have been hit by tank shells. Buildings in the immediate vicinity of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] were also hit. Several shells completely destroyed three apartments. Again, there are killed and injured. From 0800 up to this moment, according to incomplete statistics, 21 people have been killed in Gorazde and 53 wounded.

At about 2100 chetnik forces began using anti-aircraft guns and infantry weapons to fire on housing in the town center and buildings around the hospital. The consequences of these activities are not yet known, while at this moment, at about 2117, howitzer shells are landing on the town. Chetniks today launched fierce attacks from the direction of Pale. Four tanks, several armored vehicles, and strong infantry forces took part in these attacks. Actions from the direction of Rogatica and along the demarcation line northwest of the town were intensifying. There is no precise information on the events in this area.

UN Convoy Arrives

LD2304225894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2242 GMT 23 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG)—The column of UNPROFOR combat vehicles arrived late Saturday night [23 April] in Gorazde, a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, agencies reported, U.N. spokesman Maj. Guy Vinet said. UNPROFOR members will be deployed in the area three kilometers from the center of Gorazde on both banks of the River Drina, which flows through the town, declared a safe area a year ago by the U.N. this was in keeping with the agreement reached Friday in Belgrade by Bosnian Serb republic (R.S.) President Radovan Karadzic and UNPROFOR head of mission Yasushi Akashi, through the mediation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The Serbian forces around Gorazde are to withdraw to three kilometers from the town by Sunday at 00:01 GMT. Otherwise, as NATO council decided Friday, they would be exposed to NATO air strikes.

Situation in Gorazde—22 April

LD2204211594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] [Reporter] The situation today is similar to that of recent days. All day the whole town of Gorazde was under heavy shelling, which has not stopped this evening. Here is what hospital director Alija Dogovic told us about the situation in the Gorazde war hospital:

[Begin recording] [Dogovic] In the past hour, since it became dark [passage indistinct] the hours of hell, the wounded in a horrifying condition [passage indistinct] without bandages—have been arriving. Many are in a very critical condition. [passage indistinct] We have no more people to give blood. They cannot come here. Those who are giving blood and those who are receiving it are bleeding. [end recording]

[Reporter] Foreign journalists were today particularly interested in whether the situation in Gorazde had changed after NATO's ultimatum to the aggressor's side. Esad Ohranovic, the president of the executive committee of the Gorazde district, answered the question.

[Begin recording] [Ohranovic] The intensity of shelling is not the same as during the day, but an occasional shell lands even as I am speaking. The Serbs are firing from anti-aircraft weapons, but not with the same intensity as before. The shelling did not stop after 1900. We could say that the intensive shelling stopped around 2000 or 2015. However, they have continued shelling and firing from anti-aircraft weapons, but with reduced intensity. [end recording]

[Reporter] Asked how many causalties there were as a result of the chetnik attacks on Gorazde today, Esad Ohranovic said:

[Begin recording] [Ohranovic] There are fewer casualties than yesterday, but I have to tell you that between 0800 and 2000 59 people were killed and 143 slightly or seriously wounded. [end recording]

UN Envoy Akashi Issues Warning to Serbs

LD2504100594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0948 GMT 25 Apr 95

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—U.N. chief for former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi has warned the Bosnian Serbs that a NATO ultimatum to withdraw their heavy weapons near Gorazde and other U.N.-designated "safe areas" in Bosnia-Herzegovina would not at all be interpreted in a flexible way. REUTERS quoted Akashi as giving this warning at a press conference in Zagreb late on Sunday. The ultimatum, demanding that the Bosnian Serbs pull out their heavy weapons 20 km from the centre of Gorazde, Tuzla, Srebrenica, Bihac and Zepa, U.N.-designated "safe areas", is due to expire on Wednesday at 3 A.M. (0100 GMT).

Akashi said he hoped that the Bosnian Serb military and political leadership would consistently observe the relevant terms and stressed that the Bosnian Serbs could expect no flexibility in complying with the terms set by the ultimatum. Drawing attention to the fact that, late on Saturday ahead of the expiry of the NATO's first ultimatum on the withdrawal of Bosnian Serb forces to 3 km from Gorazde, NATO asked for a permission to bomb Serb artillery positions near that Moslem enclave in the east of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which Akashi refused to issue, REUTERS quoted a Western diplomats as saying that it was quite obvious that strong pressure had been put on Akashi and adding that many wanted air strikes.

The United Nations issued a statement early on Sunday specifying that U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, and not Akashi, would have the final word in deciding whether air strikes should be launched or not. NATO circles maintain that this change has most probably resulted from the pressure by NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner, who spoke sharply on the phone with Akashi late on Saturday, but, nevertheless, failed to persuade the Japanese diplomat to change his stand.

Diplomatic sources say that Akashi caused indignation in NATO when he refused to approve air strikes on

Saturday, explaining that the Bosnian Serbs were withdrawing in line with the terms, although they were not completely observing the set deadline.

NATO Extends Ultimatum To Other Safe Areas

LD2304025294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0019 GMT 23 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Brussels, April 22 (TANJUG)—The North Atlantic Council late on Friday night [22 April] extended its ultimatum to Bosnian Serbs to cmver the other U.N.-designated 'safe havens' in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A statement released from the session said that Bosnian Serb armament would be targeted if they attacked the 'safe havens' of Gorazde, Bihac, Srebrenica, Tuzla and Zepa from heavy weapons or in other ways. The towns were designated 'safe havens' in spring of 1993.

Silajdzic Hails Serbian Withdrawal Ultimatum

AU2204181994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Telephone interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in unspecified location by Radio Sarajevo studio announcer in Sarajevo on 22 April—live]

[Text] [Studio announcer] Esteemed listeneres, we have just been informed that we have Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic on the line. Good evening.

[Silajdzic] Good evening.

[Studio announcer] Mr. Silajdzic, at the beginning of the newscast we announced that we had received news that the NATO (?ambassadors) had reached a decision on a new ultimatum to the Serbian aggressor. We also said that we could not confirm this information. Can you confirm it?

[Silajdzic] Yes. The ultimatum to the Serbian forces calls for their withdrawal by midnight tomorrow [23 April] to a distance of three kilometers from the center of Gorazde. If they fail to comply, every target within a 20 km radius will be bombed. That is the ultimatum.

[Studio announcer] Could you comment on what will happen? Will the aggressor comply with the ultimatum?

[Silajdzic] That remains to be seen. If they do not comply, (?punishment) will follow.

[Studio announcer] Has this decision come too late?

[Silajdzic] Whether it is too late or not—these are academic questions. It is too late for the dead, but it is not too late for the living. It is not too late for those who are defending themselves. Therefore, we hail this decision, and we hope it will be implemented. Thank you.

[Studio announcer] Thank you.

Aid Organization: 535 Killed in Gorazde

AU2204180594 Paris AFP in English 1752 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Paris, April 22 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serb offensive against Gorazde has killed 535 people and wounded 1,740 of the Moslem enclave's population since it began March 29, the charity Medecins Sans Frontieres [MSF] said Friday [22 April]. This was an increase from Thursday's figures of 436 dead and 1,467 wounded, the organization said, adding that the number of children, women and old people killed and wounded continued to rise "dramatically."

Bosnian Serb Vice President Calls For Summit

LD2404105994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1011 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Text] Jagodina, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the republic of Srpska, said today that by withdrawing its forces from around Gorazde the republic of Srpska showed the world that it is in favor of the peaceful resolution of the crisis, even though its army did not carry out any aggression there but was on the defensive. In a Jagodina Radio program called "Weekend" she noted that "some people regret not having seen bombardment last night, which forebodes fresh provocations" and added that for this reason a summit between Russia, America, the European Union, and the United Nations should be held as soon as possible, in order to clarify the issues completely and restore a permanent peace.

TANJUG: Muslims Order Downing of NATO Planes

LD2404120294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Text] Banja Luka, April 24 (TANJUG)—The command of the 7th Corps of the Moslem force ordered its units which are in close contact with forces of the Serb Republic army to open fire on all NATO planes which fly over the line of separation, TANJUG learned from well informed Bosnian Serb military sources. The sources said that the 7th Corps of the Moslem force, in charge of central Bosnia-Herzegovina, had issued this order so that the blame for the possible downing of NATO planes, with a strong media campaign, could be pinned on the Bosnian Serb army and their ground positions punished. This would not be the first time that Moslem forces down NATO aircraft. In June last year, Moslems downed an Italian transport plane, the sources said, adding that world media had given little coverage to the incident although it had been proved, so that the Moslem leadership still relied on this support.

UNPROFOR Spokesman: Convoy Trapped by Serbs

AU2204171694 Paris AFP in English 1704 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 22 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces trapped a UN convoy Friday [22 April] when it began retreating to Sarajevo after failing to reach the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde, UNPROFOR spokesman Richard Pernod told AFP. The convoy, made up of some 100 French, British and Ukrainian peacekeepers from the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], was on its way to relieve Gorazde when it received orders to head back to Sarajevo but Serb forces stepped in and have stopped its retreat, he said.

Serbs Seeking 'Solution'

LD2204162094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1520 GMT 22 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zvornik, April 22 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb authorities will do their best to help find a solution acceptable to all, enabling a U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) convoy to proceed to Gorazde, Bosnian Serb army sources told TANJUG on Friday [22 April]. The Gorazde-bound convoy of 49 combat vehicles, with 141 U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) members from Great Britain and Ukraine and 41 Norwegian medical workers, on its way from Sarajevo was stopped in Rogatica on Thursday by a group 350 Serb women and children. The spontaneously gathered group demanded that UNPROFOR evacuated all Serbs held captive in the [word indistinct] Bosnian Moslem enclave of Gorazde. They also demanded the return of the bodies of killed Serbs.

The Bosnian Serb republic (S.R.) authorities are investing every effort towards resolving the situation, Bosnian Serb army sources said. The Serbs have agreed that two U.N. platoons be deployed in the Gorazde area under Tuesday's S.R.-UNPROFOR accord pursuant to which the Serbs proclaimed a unilateral ceasefire in the area on Wednesday. In the meantime, UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina British General Sir Michael Rose was reported to have ordered the convoy to return to Sarajevo.

News agencies reported that UNPROFOR spokesman in Sarajevo Rob Annink said that Gen. Rose at 1.30 p.m. (1130 GMT) on Friday ordered the convoy to return. He added that the order was issued for tactical and political reasons. Clashes around Gorazde escalated in late March when the Moslems from Gorazde, a U.N.-designated 'safe area' which should have been demilitarized last spring, launched an offensive against Serb positions. The offensive has been crushed by a strong Serb counterattack.

Serbs Deny Blocking Convoy

LD2504105094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1025 GMT 25 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 25 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb army headquarters has denied a statement by a U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman in Sarajevo to the effect that Bosnian Serb forces had blocked a second convoy of peacekeepers for the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Gorazde immediately after it had left Sarajevo on Sunday [25 April]. The French AFP news agency quoted the statement on Sunday.

A protest note, which the Bosnian Serb army H.Q. has sent to UNPROFOR commands in Zagreb and Kiseljak, says that UNPROFOR on Sunday asked a permission for its convoy to pass through the Bosnian Serb territory three times and the permissions were invariably given them. The note quotes a statement by the deputy chief of UNPROFOR command for Bosnia-Herzegovina to the effect that the problem with the convoy was that it had not started from Sarajevo, because some countries, which had given their troops, did not agree to their leaving for Gorazde.

This was primarily France, the note states and adds that the convoy was at the airport since early morning until the afternoon, when its structure was finally changed. This can be confirmed by Captain Drole, an officer in the headquarters of Colonel Sonic, UNPROFOR chief of staff for Section Sarajevo, says the statement.

The Bosnian Serb army H.Q. statement says that UNPROFOR convoy, which should have left Sarajevo at 10 A.M. (0800 GMT), should have consisted of 221 troops from the British, French and Ukrainian contingents. However, the convoy, which entered the Bosnian Serb territory at 5.05 P.M., consisted of British (117 members), Egyptian (51), Russian (20), Ukrainian (48), French (5) and Nordic (3 members). The note explains that added to the newly-formed convoy were some "new members," who had not been discussed earlier in the day. They were military observers and members of the UNPROFOR civilian affairs, UNPROFOR civilian police and UNICEF.

We have allowed that too, and the newly-formed convoy entered the territory of the Bosnian Serb republic at 5.05 P.M. and set out for Gorazde, says the protest note.

Serbs, Rebel Muslims Attack Army in West

LD2304212194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Joint attacks launched by Karadzic's fascists and Abdic's phalanges of traitors [Muslim forces of self-proclaimed autonomous province of western Bosnia founded by Fikret Abdic] were intensified today. Chetniks repeated their artillery attacks on the central part of the Bosanska Krupa area this afternoon [words indistinct].

Since last night members of rebel-traitor units [Muslims loyal to Abdic] have been launching artillery attacks on the Liskovac, Todorovo, and Varoska Rijeka areas. On several occasions they were backed by chetniks from the so-called Serb Krajina in shelling the areas mentioned. The focus of today's attacks was the Medik medical equipment factory in Skokovi. Several attempts at an infantry breakthrough were made during the day and this afternoon a sabotage group from Trzac [town held by forces loyal to Abdic] was destroyed. Many people were wounded today and one person was killed. [passage omitted]

Inter-Muslim Clashes Reported

LD2304225794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2213 GMT 23 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Doboj, April 23 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces mounted strong attacks on Serbs in the broader area of Doboj in northern Bosnia, while inter-Moslem fighting continued in western Bosnia. As reported by military sources of Serbs in Bosnia, the Moslem forces were most active on the front near Teslic, southwest of Doboj, where, coupled with strong artillery support, they executed two strong attacks which were repelled. The town of Teslic, too, itself came under mortar fire.

There was fighting also northeast of Doboj, where the Moslem forces used all weapons at their disposal in the attacks on Serb positions. The Serb side was forced to respond, after which the attacks ceased.

Inter-Moslem fighting in western Bosnia, as reported by the Moslem-controlled Sarajevo Radio, continued along all the separation lines in the Cazin and Velika Kladusa municipalities. There was heavy fighting with the use of artillery and infantry since the early morning hours between the forces loyal to Moslem radical leader Alija Izetbegovic and the formations of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, which was last year formed the followers of peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia.

NATO Aircraft Sighted

LD2304170294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] Petrovac, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—Throughout the day and at various time intervals, particularly this afternoon, NATO planes have been violating the air space over Petrovac, Drvar, Kljuc, the Serb municipality of Bihac, Krupa on the Una River, and other municipalities in the western part of the republic of Srpska. Supersonic aircraft carried out low-altitude and illegal flights, demonstrating their force and particularly making their presence felt over the Bihac front where they were taking aerial photographs of the republic of Srpska army's positions.

Serbian Shelling Kills Five in Travnik Area

LD2404180994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Excerpt] There was no peace in the Travnik municipality today. The Serb-chetnik aggressors are firing shells of the largest caliber at civilian targets in the town and its suburbs. The aggressors also shelled defense lines in the Turbe area and launched combined infantry and artillery attacks on the Vlasic plateau. Five civilians were killed and a number wounded by howitzer and tank fire from enemy strongholds. As we file this report at 1850 the combined artillery and infantry attacks are still going on at 1850. [passage omitted]

Serbs Sighted Moving to Sarajevo Front

AU2204194294

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 22 April carries in its regular 41-minute newscast three reports on fighting in the republic.

Brcko correspondent Hamid Deronjic reports that "after attempting two unsuccessful infantry and tank breakthroughs in the areas of Vranovaca and Boderiste, the enemy intensified the shelling of the Brcko defense line in the afternoon. Civilian objectives were also targeted. During an hours-long, relentless shelling of the defense lines on the Omerbegovaca-Vranovaca route, chetniks from the direction of Cadjavac and Tadici used tanks, recoilless guns, all caliber mortars to fire several hundred shells. The chetnik artillery and tank attack did not affect the stability of our positions. The same can be said for sniper activity directed at Djukici, Vranovaca, and Boderiste."

The studio announcer introduces a report by an unidentified correspondent on the situation in Breza and says that "on three occasions today, the aggressor's artillery fired at Breza." The correspondent says that "the first time occurred at around 1240 when the aggressor used howitzers from the region of Nabozici. Several shells were launched at the outskirts of Breza. It is redundant to mention that the positions from which the chetnik artillery is firing are located well inside the Sarajevo exclusion zone, that is, within the 20 km radius. Some time later, several shells again landed on the outskirts of Breza, after which a deceptive calm settled in. However, at around 1605, the chetniks again used artillery to shell the residential area of Breza with seven 122-mm howitzer shells. The general alarm signal was again sounded on the territory of our commune and is still in effect at the time of filing this report at 1758."

Sead Custovic reports from the 1st Corps Information Service and says that "two months have gone by since the cease-fire was agreed upon in Sarajevo, yet during all this time the chetniks have not even tried to observe it. The chetniks began the day by throwing hand grenades in the district of (?Aerodrom). This was followed by machine gun barrages from Velika Kula and Baletici directed at the defense lines [words indistinct]. This affects primarily Lemze, which was targeted by Tromblon shells from the Rajlovac barracks and a portable rocket launcher from Zecja Glava and [name indistinct]. The citizens must exercise caution because the criminals may at any moment turn to shelling the city. This is implied by the movements of their manpower and hardware sighted today, and the dogged work of engineering units on the reinforcement lines."

Serbs: Muslims Trying To Capture Sarajevo

LD2204139994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Zvornik-Bratunac, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—This morning Muslims launched artillery and infantry attacks on Serbian territory and defense lines of the Bosnian Serb republic army, whose final aim is to capture the Serbian part of Sarajevo. The attacks have not stopped this evening, TANJUG's correspondent has learned from Serbian military circles.

It is specified that, after several days of preparations and constant attacks, Moslem units launched attacks from the area of Olovo, Cemerka and Mountain Zvezda [all north of Sarajevo], and from the Breza and Visoko areas [northwest of Sarajevo]. They are using all available weapons.

The main targets of the Moslem offensive activity are Serbian villages and defense positions of the republic of Srpska army in the area of Ilijas [northwest of Sarajevo, toward Visoko], Srednje and in the Nisici plateau [both north of Sarajevo]. The attacks were accompanied by strong artillery support and mortar fire.

Republic of Srpska army units are responding to all attacks and successfully thwarting Moslem attempts at an infantry breakthrough of Serbian defense lines. Circles in the republic of Srpska army point out that the Moslems' intention is to cut the Ilijas-Srednje-Nisici communication link and take control of the Nisici plateau. They would then direct their actions toward Sarajevo, aiming at severing Serbian territory and occupying the Serbian part of Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Muslims, Croats Fail To Agree on President

LD2304201494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG)—Delegations of Bosnian Croats and Moslems failed Saturday [23 April] to reach agreement in Sarajevo on naming the future president of the Moslem-Croatian Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As reported by the Croatian radio, the deadline for reaching the agreement was extended until next week. The delegations headed by Bosnian Croatian leader Kresimir Tubak and Prime Minister of the Moslem Government in Sarajevo Haris Silajdzic set forth, as claimed by the same source, their pros and cons of the candidate for president, giving legal and political reasons.

Invoking the Washington Accord on forming Moslem-Croatian Federation in Bosnia, signed earlier this year under strong U.S. pressure, the Croatian side sought to see a Croat as head of the first president of the Moslem-Croatian Federation. The same source set out that the Croats were prepared also for a compromise: This post they would yield to the Moslems, but on condition Silajdzic be named instead of the proposed Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, whom the Croats have no wish to see under any circumstances heading the joint federation.

Spokesman Says Serbs Free Final UN Observer

AU2204183894 Paris AFP in English 1831 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 22 (AFP)—The final UN military observer held by Bosnian Serb forces was freed Friday afternoon [22 April], said UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] spokesman Major Eric Chaperon. The observer, who was named as Dutch Major Van Baal, was freed along with his Serb interpreter, the United Nations Protection Force spokesman said. Van Baal informed his Sarajevo headquarters of the men's release, the circumstances of which were not detailed.

The two men went missing April 11, the day after the first North Atlantic Treaty Organisation air strike on Serb forces besieging the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Gorazde. Fifty-eight unarmed UN military observers were placed under house arrest by Serb forces in areas under their control in reprisal for that air strike and a second strike a day later.

Serbs Secure 'Fair Trial' for French Aid Workers

LD2204172894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1633 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army investigative officials have secured the arrested eleven members of the French non-governmental humanitarian organizations Premiere Urgence a fair trial, Bosnian Serb Army Chief Command said Friday [22 April]. Premiere Urgence members, suspected of involvement in the smuggling arms for the Bosnian Moslems, have been given an interpreter and advised in French of their rights. They have also been allowed to hire a lawyer and to be visited by French authorities officials. The eleven Frenchmen, arrested at a Serb check-point in Sarajevo on April 8 charged with transporting arms and ammunition to Moslems.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said they were to stay in prison in the Bosnian Serb republic territory until the investigation was completed. The Bosnian Serb Army Chief Command, recalling that illegal arms and ammunition transport was violating the U.N. Security

Council ban on arms deliveries to the former Yugoslavia, on Thursday disclaimed that the French nationals were held hostage.

UK's Major 'Horrified' Over Gorazde

LD2304230494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] British Prime Minister John Major has sent a letter to Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which, among other things, he refers to the current aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I am horrified by the brutality of the Bosnian Serb offensive on Gorazde. The basic task now must be a cease-fire not only in Gorazde, but throughout Bosnia. To this end Great Britain is actively taking part in the discussions in NATO and in all organizations in which a solution to this is being sought. A cease-fire by itself is not sufficient. A cease-fire must be followed by an agreement on a final solution that will require important territorial concessions by the Bosnian Serbs. The tragic events of the past few days stress the urgent need for the renewal of the peace process, the letter from Britain's Prime Minister John Major to President Izetbegovic says.

Izetbegovic Responds

LD2404184794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Apr 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the presidency of our country, today sent a letter to John Major, the prime minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In the letter, President Izetbegovic thanked Prime Minister Major for his letter of 21 April. I am pleased that the Minister of State Douglas Hogg will visit Sarajevo during the first week of May. We will welcome him and wish him success in his mission. As you suggested, during the visit we can agree on the date and the program of my and my prime minister's visit to London. I also wish to thank you for your message regarding the tragedy of Gorazde and for your government's active role in passing the latest UN and NATO resolutions. These resolutions have considerably alleviated the situation for the tens of thousands of Gorazde citizens but unfortunately peace and safety from Serb attacks are still far away.

I am glad to hear that your government shares the view that a peaceful solution to Bosnia-Herzegovina implies the withdrawal of Karadzic's Serbs from the considerable part of the occupied territories. In our view, these are the areas with the majority Muslim and Croatian population before the aggression, President Izetbegovic says in conclusion of his letter to British Prime Minister John Major.

Russian Duma Delegation in Pale for Talks

LD2304120094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—A nine-member delegation of the Russian State Duma, led by Nikolay Bezbirodov, deputy chairman of the Commiteee for Defense and Security, arrived in Pale today and began talks with Vladimir Lukic, prime minister of the republic of Srpska. The two sides are discussing the present political and security situation in the wake of last night's NATO ultimatum to Serbs in the republic of Srpska and the agreement which Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, and Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, reached with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, in Belgrade last night. The Russian parliamentarians arrived in Pale with specific proposals involving various aspects of economic and cultural cooperation between the Russian Federation and the republic of Srpska.

Akashi Postpones Meeting With Krajina President

LD2504095494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 25 Apr 94

[Text] Knin, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi's meeting with Krajina's state leadership and President Milan Martic, scheduled for today, has been postpone at Akashi's request.

In a message to President Martic, Akashi says he has had to postpone the meeting due to his tasks in connection with monitoring the situation in Bosnia.

Ganic in Zagreb for Consultations on Bosnia

AU2204195794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[Text] Returning from Washington via Brussels, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ejup Ganic today stopped in Zagreb. He used this stopover in Zagreb for political talks with the representatives of the Croatian leadership. He first held talks with Croatian Foreign Minister and deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic, while tonight he is due to meet with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. The topic will be an exchange of opinions on the latest political situation after the tragedy in Gorazde, and the decisions of the U.S. Administration for wider involvement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Washington Agreement was also discussed, particularly ways of implementing it and in connection to this, future measures of the international community aimed at reaching lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. This has been Nada al-Isa reporting from Zagreb for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Negotiations Between Bosnian Croats, Muslims

LD2304140594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Negotiations between the delegations of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government have begun in Sarajevo. They are to discuss the implementation of the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Washington agreement. Ankica Bosavljak reports:

[Begin Bosavljak recording] A working meeting beteen the Croat and Bosnian Muslim sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina began in Sarajevo this morning. The meeting is intended to prepare deputies for the upcoming session of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The negotiating teams are headed by Kresimir Zubak, president of the presidential council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. The final result of today's talks should solve the dilemma about the election of the future president and vice president of the federation and the prime minister-designate of the federal government. Even if no names are made public, it will be known which nation will provide which officials.

In a break at 1400, Kresimir Zubak told us that during the first part of the meeting they discussed humanitarian and economic issues, and that though the talks were successful, the more difficult, political part of the agreement was to follow. Kasim Trnka, minister of justice in the Bosnian Government, was also optimistic in his evaluation of today's talks. He expressed hope that a successful agreement will be reached. [passage omitted] [end recording]

RSK Spells Out Conditions for Talks

LD2204220994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Knin, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—The new government of national unity of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]—with Borislav Mikelic as prime minister—held its first working session today. The government reviewed the implementation of the Zagreb agreement and preparations for the continuation of the negotiating process with Croatia and the UN.

As Mikelic told journalists after the session, at tomorrow's talks on the implementation of the cease-fire agreement with Croatia—to be held in Turanj near Karlovac—the Serb side will raise the issue of certain corrections to the buffer zones; that is, the line of separation.

We must raise this issue because we have been tasked by the parliament, and we are also forced by complaints from the field. We will reexamine the maps and see what people have not accepted in the implementation of the agreement, Mikelic stressed.

The government also adopted stances on the forthcoming talks with the UN special envoy, Yasushi Akashi. As it was said today, the government will set firm conditions, the fulfillment of which will be a precondition for the resumption of talks with Croatia.

First of all, Krajina will demand at least a partial annulment of provision 12 of UN Security Council Resolution 820 to make possible talks and negotiations on equal basis, Mikelic said.

The Krajina delegation for talks with Akashi will comprise RSK president Milan Martic, prime minister Mikelic, and foreign minister Milan Babic.

The delegation will also raise the issue of the reconstruction of Vukovar, for which, according to Mikelic, funds have been secured but have been given to Croatia. We will demand, he said, that the funds be used and that reconstruction begin.

The RSK government also has one condition for talks on economic relations with Croatia—the payment of pensions.

"Croatia must honor this to open talks on economic relations. The reopening of traffic links is at the moment out of the question," Mikelic said categorically.

According to figures Mikelic presented yesterday while explaining his government's program, around 40,000 pensioners who worked in Croatia are demanding to be paid pensions.

Parliamentary Leaders Urge Tudjman Resignation

AU2204171094 Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 21 Apr 94 p 10

[Interview with Stipe Mesic, former Yugoslav president and current president of the Croat Lower House, and Josip Manolic, president of the Croat Upper House, by Erich Rathfelder; place and date not given: "'Tudjman Must Resign'"]

[Text] [Rathfelder] Mr. Manolic, Mr. Mesic, you were founding members of the present Croatian government party, the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), and now you want to form a new party. Why?

[Manolic] We can no longer work in a party that approves of the policy conducted by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. We have been following this president's deficiencies with great concern for a year now. What was crucial to our decision is the disagreement over policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is once again making sad headlines, but we have also been concerned about the development of democracy in our country.

[Rathfelder] What mistakes has Tudjman made in Bosnia?

[Manolic] We were both in favor of a single Bosnia-Herzegovina within its acknowledged borders. The three nations were to have equal rights there. But even before the war started, Tudjman agreed with Serb President Milosevic to split up Bosnia-Herzegovina between Serbia and Croatia. Neither Milosevic nor Tudjman had, however, expected the Muslims to resist this plan so vigorously. When the plans for division failed, the Croatian president, in agreement with the lobby of Croatian Western Herzegovina, decided more than a year ago to start a war against the Muslims. This was a destructive act for Croatian politics.

[Mesic] The war in Bosnia is a truly absurd situation that is unprecedented in history. Croatia fought its only ally, the Bosnian Muslims, although we are still inferior to our main adversary. Thank goodness the Washington Agreement, which we warmly welcome, has changed the parameters of policy. What particularly pleases me is that reconciliation is going comparatively smoothly. This shows that the hatred between the two nations was artificially created. There should never have been a war between the two.

[Rathfelder] How can you explain Tudjman's sudden change of opinion?

[Mesic] We do not know whether Tudjman has changed his personal view. The fact is that after the Washington Agreement all those who were in power before in Herceg-Bosna are still there; this means all those who wanted to divide Bosnia, who promoted the war, and who are only interested in establishing the state of Herceg-Bosna in spite of the agreed federation.

[Manolic] This touches on the second reason we want to disassociate ourselves from Tudjman. We want Croatia to become a constitutional state where human rights and democratic freedom are observed. Undemocratic practices have also been noticeable in the government party HDZ. We wanted to democratize it.

[Rathfelder] Does forming a new party mean that you have given up hope that the HDZ can be reformed?

[Manolic] Not only that. A new party will strengthen the democratic opposition in Croatia. A strong opposition could make various institutions more democratic. This is the first step. The second step would be to prevent the president from conducting his dishonest policy.

[Rathfelder] Will you manage to pull enough HDZ parliamentarians over to your side to make their absolute majority in parliament totter?

[Manolic] There have, of course, been intense discussions. This is why Tudjman is getting nervous; they are trying to pressure us. All government party deputies have been urged to declare their loyalty to Tudjman. Our telephones are being monitored, and police measures are reminiscent of those taken against dissidents during the communist era.

When we formed the HDZ, we wanted to break the one-party rule of the old regime. In this respect, there were no differences between myself and Tudjman. Like Tudjman, I was a communist; we wanted to continue the tradition of the Croatian Spring of 1971 and create a democratic Croatia. But Tudjman has kept the old leadership principles, he makes all decisions autocratically.

[Rathfelder] Tudjman still has plenty of support. And he is backed by the powerful clan of the Herzegovinians.

[Mesic] These politicians from western Herzegovina are not powerful. The majority of Croatians and the entire church have spoken out against the policy of dividing Bosnia. Certain people are responsible for establishing concentration camps. There was hope of finding a reason to accuse the Bosnian Army of driving Croats out by withdrawing Croat forces from several areas in central Bosnia. They have destroyed a large part of Mostar. And this dishonest policy was supported by Zagreb.

[Rathfelder] This is a harsh attack on Tudjman! Does this mean he has to resign?

[Mesic] He must, indeed, draw the conclusions.

[Rathfelder] Why did you not act a year ago? You might have been able to prevent the catastrophe then.

[Manolic] If we had been more firm at that time, we would have been eliminated. Croatian paramilitary forces were established in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their crimes were supported by Defense Minister Gojko Susak. And these people would not even have survived for a month, if Tudjman had not supported this course.

[Rathfelder] Is the public in Croatia aware of the Croatian crimes?

[Mesic] I do not think so. There is a media blockade; Croatian television has played the worst role in this war. But the war criminals will be persecuted. They must be convicted by the courts. We know who killed Muslims in Stupni Do, Ahmici, and Prozor. Some murderers have changed their names, others are living here in Zagreb, in the Intercontinental Hotel, protected by Minister Susak (Bosnian-Croat leader Mate Boban, E.R.).

[Rathfelder] Is all this digging Tudjman's political grave?

[Mesic] This policy was exclusively his choice. But you cannot ignore international responsibility in this context. The international community has had its share in the war in Bosnia. Feeding the victims before they are killed is simply not enough. Lord Owen promoted a division of Bosnia rather than safeguarding the unity of the state. Serbia was encouraged to continue its aggression, and Croatia was tempted with the prospect of gaining 27 percent of the Bosnian territory. But the resistance of the Bosnian Muslims has confused the international scene.

HDZ Denounces Breakaway Members in Address

LD2304172694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] The Presidium of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] today addressed a message to the members of the HDZ and the Croatian public. We will broadcast the message in its entirety.

At a critical historic moment in the struggle to defend Croatian state sovereignty, when we have achieved the greatest results and obtained recognition from the whole of the international community for our consistent, peace-loving, and democratic policy, but while we are still facing serious challenges and uncertainties on the path of establishing full sovereignty over Croatian areas under the protection of the peace forces—but in fact under Serb occupation—and the no less grave problem of establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina; in such internationally complex circumstances, we are facing an attempt to cause a rift in the HDZ. The HDZ Presidium is, therefore, addressing the HDZ members and public with the following message:

The initiative launched by Josip Manolic and Stipe Mesic to form a new political party called the Croatian Independent Democrats [HND] marks the final stage of their departure from the HDZ's program and policy. The process of their departure from the HDZ's central policy has been under way for more than a year, and it gained momentum after the second general convention of the HDZ, held on 15 October 1993.

Manolic and Mesic protested their deep dissatisfaction with decisions adopted with an overwhelming majority at the convention. Their objections referred to the new program envisaging the completion of the transformation of the HDZ from a Pan-Croatian democratic movement [opcehrvatski demokratski pokret] into a Pan-Croatian and all-people's party [opcehrvatska and opcenarodna stranka] which bases its democratic policy on the principles of Christian civilization. They expressed particular disapproval over the new party leaders and the HDZ presidium that was elected in a secret ballot at the convention.

Over the past few months Manolic and Mesic were increasingly open in expressing their views that were contradictory to those of the HDZ leadership, the president of the republic, and the prime minister in all important issues concerning internal and foreign policy.

Through their separate political activity and the initiative to launch a new party, Manolic and Mesic continued and deepened the work of those from the opposition and from abroad—the letter of the six and the Initiative Circle—who called for a change in the constitutional order, the resignation of the president of the republic, and early elections.

Considering the circumstances in the internal and international spheres, there can be no doubt as to the intentions and consequences of such activity. The attempt to cause a parliamentary and constitutional crisis, and especially the discrediting of the state policy of the president of the republic did not and cannot aim at anything other than the destabilization of the internal order and the weakening of the international position of democratic Croatia, and consequently the weakening of Croatia's negotiating positions in resolving the problem of the occupied Croatian areas, ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the realization of the Croat-Bosnian Muslim Federation and confederation, as well as in reaching economic and financial agreements with other countries.

Naturally, respecting the constitutional and democratic rights of every citizen, the HDZ Presidium recognizes Manolic's and Mesic's right to hold differing views and form a separate party. However, the HDZ Presidium has not only the right, but also the obligation toward HDZ members and the Croatian public to present its view on their stances and activity, because this is not only an attempt to create a rift in the HDZ as a majority party, but also an attempt to change the policy of the state.

The Croatian people have achieved their sovereignty and the Croatian state has secured its place in today's world under the leadership of the HDZ owing to the correctness of its policy and the stability of its democratic order.

By pursuing such a policy, Croatia has gained trust and made friends and allies in the modern world. On the other hand, the world, the important international players, need a stable Croatia as a reliable factor in the creation of a new international order in this part of Europe.

In whose interest is then the destabilization of Croatia?

Only people who are politically blind and yearn for power or those who cannot reconcile themselves to an independent and sovereign Croatian state. Precisely because it is obvious to every rational human being the attempt by Manolic and Mesic to bring about a division and a constitutional crisis is doomed to failure.

Of the 16 deputies that they claim to be in the Initiative Committee of their party, several have already denied any connection with them. The HDZ has retained the majority in both Croatian Assembly chambers, while messages of support for the HDZ Presidency and reports of a growing membership are being received, precisely because of the departure of Manolic and the like.

Attempts to cause a division and to weaken the HDZ are already turning into a process of strengthening and consolidation of the HDZ as the focal party on the Croatian political scene. The HDZ will resume its tried and tested policy at both the domestic and international levels without taking any right or left turns away from its program principles and goals.

The HDZ will remain a pioneer in the construction of a democratic Croatia in the period of economic and cultural renaissance, in the construction of a legal system. The HDZ will encourage private entrepreneurship and resolutely struggle to overcome all remains of the old communist regime, all bureaucratic, criminal, and immoral phenomena.

The HDZ Presidency is calling on all its members and deputies in the Croatian Assembly, in county and municipal assemblies, to justify the trust placed in them by the people who elected them.

A question now arises of personal responsibility, before public and party bodies, for the conscientious execution of the duties entrusted, for regular participation in the Assembly Chambers, and the responsible implementation of party policy.

All civil servants are requested to fulfill their obligations, including the one on keeping state secrets. They also bear collective responsibility for their own specific areas, especially with regard to economizing at all levels.

Personal changes that will take place in the leaderships of the Assembly Chambers—given the democratic right of a majority party—will not cause any changes in Croatian policy either at domestic or international levels. On the contrary, they will insure its more consistent implementation.

Similar and even greater turmoil than that in the HDZ is also present in the opposition parties. They are the expression of democratic shifts in the balance of political alliances and will serve to strengthen the democratic system in Croatia.

All our experience so far gives us solid reasons to conclude that the HDZ, with its well-proven leadership, will come out of this situation even stronger and more united, at the head of the struggle for the preservation, consolidation, and construction of a sovereign and independent Croatian state, the state of full democratic liberties, progress, happiness, and prosperity for all its citizens—the HDZ Presidency states at the end of its message.

[Signed] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, HDZ General Secretary Jure Radic, Deputy Presidents Nikica Valentic, Mate Granic, Franjo Greguric, Gojko Susak, Marjan Sunjic, and members Ivan Milas, Djuro Brodarac, General Djuro Decak, Antun Vrdoljak, Ivic Pasalic, Hrvoje Hitrec, and Mario Kapulica.

Federal

Kontic Criticizes Western Policy on Gorazde

LD2404120594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1101 GMT 24 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 24 (TANJUG)—The scenario for postponing the peace process and fanning the flames of war, so generously used in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina so far, was once again followed in the case of Gorazde, Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Radoje Kontic said on Sunday. Every time peace was close at hand or whenever talks between the warring sides became deadlocked through a fault of the Moslems or Croats, Serbs would be provoked into military action or a massacre of civilians would be staged, with the inevitable effect of postponing the peace process and fanning the war, Kontic said in a statement to Radio Kragujevac.

From Gorazde, a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, which should have been demilitarized in spring last year as a U.N. protected area, Moslems launched an offensive against Serb positions in late March. When the Moslems were threatened with military defeat, NATO bombed Serb positions around the town on April 10 and 11 allegedly to protect the local U.N. observers. Since this did not affect the situation on the front, NATO set another ultimatum to Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina on Friday, this time that they withdraw to 3km from Gorazde by 00:01 GMT Sunday or be bombed (again).

The bombing did not take place because Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina, under an agreement with head of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi, started to withdraw, and around 200 peace-keepers have arrived in Gorazde and have begun their deployment in the buffer zone between Serb and Moslem forces. Assessing that the plan of the European Union (E.U.) on Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of three ethnic republics had offered a real perspective for resolving the crisis quickly, Kontic said that Serbs had practically met all the Moslem demands, so that it had seemed that the solution was on the horizon. "And then the U.S. enforced the Moslem-Croat federation and the confederation with Croatia, without any participation of the Serbs, and at their expense in fact, because new concessions by the Serb side had been counted on," the Yugoslav prime minister said. In order to get Serbs to make these concessions, it was necessary to intimidate them with air strikes, or blacken them once again in the eyes of the world community and justify the siding against them, Kontic said.

Commenting on the U.S. demands for the destruction of bridges and other forms of communication between the Serb Republic in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Kontic assessed that such demands which come from extremist circles and individuals should not disturb Yugoslav citizens and cause their concern. "Even if this did take place, it would be an act of aggression on an independent and sovereign country and the answer would be unequivocal and clear. Yugoslavia has such a force that can be placed in the defence of the country at a moment's notice," the Yugoslav prime minister said. "The situation is monitored continually and measures are taken to protect our borders. That is why certain funds are earmarked for equipping the army with modern weapons and strengthening the country's defence even at this moment when the economic situation is very difficult," Kontic told Radio Kragujevac.

Sainovic Criticizes Policy of 'Ultimatums'

LD2204190494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1816 GMT 22 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bucharest, April 22 (TANJUG)—Nikola Sainovic, the vice-prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on Friday told the Crans Montana international forum in Bucharest that the policy of pressures, ultimatums and punishing of Yugoslavia has been proved ineffective, inhuman and counter-productive. Such a policy only postpones a just solution to the lengthy crisis and widens the economic, social and cultural gap between the Balkans and the other parts of Europe thus providing a favourable terrain for longterm destabilization, Sainovic told today's session on the topic "Prospects for peace in the Balkans."

Sainovic, who heads the Yugoslav delegation in Bucharest, said that the holding of the conference on the Yugoslav crisis depends on the fulfillment of three conditions: the equal treatment of all sides in the conflict, the abandoning of a policy of pressures and ultimatums, and the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. Sainovic recalled that the international sanctions against Yugoslavia, the first against a European country, represent the collective punishment of the entire population of a country and threaten some 60 [?million] refugees, of which 300,000 are children, and who found sanctuary in Yugoslavia. An enture nation has been denied the elementary and civilization rights: the right to health, education, culture, the freedom of movement and travel, and even the right to life, Sainovic said.

The imposition of the sanctions against Yugoslavia only, represents the implementation of a policy of double standards which has no basis in democratic principles and can only be explained by the interests and revanschism of certain powers and states who have always had certain historic aspirations towards the Balkans, Sainovic said. The Balkans have dramatically been pushed into the spotlight of world public opinion and have become the stage for new divisions reflected in the disintegration of the former yugoslavia and the civil war in its territory, he said. Internal antagonisms and the in-advance prepared secessionist forces saw their chance in the changes in the balance of power in Europe and carried out the violent secession from an internationally recognized state and the founder of all major institutions of the international order, Sainovic said. The existing constitutional order has been disrupted, the universal principles of the Helsinki CSCE process violated and the rights of peoples who voted for the continuity of a joint state ignored, the Yugoslav vice-prime minister said.

At this year's meeting of the Crans Montana forum, attended by some 1,000 prominent world figures, the Yugoslav delegation also includes Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and Serbian Minister Without Protfolio Dragan Tomic.

Army Chief of Staff: Serbs Do Not Want War

LD2304203294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 23 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Takovo, Apr 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Army Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Momcilo Perisic Saturday [23 April] said that the Serb people does not want war, but will not tolerate anyone from abroad ordering its life by military threats. Commenting the NATO threats to the Serbs in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Perisic ponted out: "I want to believe that the latest threats will not be materialized, as their consequences could be catastrophic and push the whole Balkan region back into prehistory."

The NATO council Friday threatened Bosnian Serbs with air strikes if they do not withdraw their forces by Sunday at 0001 GMT to three kilometers away from Gorazde, around which Serb and Moslem forces have been fighting bitterly for nearly one month since the Moslem forces launched their offensive from this safe area on Serb positions in late March. "We will not reply to threats by threats, but the Serbian and Montenegrin people must not remain indifferent and careless and [word indistinct] their state to be destroyed", Perisic said in Takovo at the commemoration of the 179th anniversary of the second Serb unprising. "We are aware of the great danger looming over all Serb lands, but we believe that this can be overcome only by just peace", Perisic said, adding that "the [word indistinct] weighing over the Serbs' national fate has regretfully received illusory legitimacy, and we must all take out fate in our hands, determined not to leave it up to others".

Commenting the U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), Perisic said that "the children, the future of the nation, are living today in a ghetto set up for them by the world powers, which hypocritically explain that peace is most easily achieved through the humanitarian isolation of the weakest".

At the end of May 1992, the U.N. Security Council imposed sanctions on the F.R.Y., accusing it of aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, even though there are no Yugoslav army troops in that former Yugoslav republic, but its three constituent peoples—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—are fighting in a civil war.

"Some world powers are doing all they can to push us to civilization's fringes, to subject us to their ill will and erase the best pages of our history, thus depriving us of our right to the future, but they will not succeed", Perisic said. "This is why the unity of the Serb people everywhere is necessary now more than ever in order to protect the people from the cruelest anti-civilizational isolation", he concluded.

Russian Duma Delegation Meets With Officials

LD2204175694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1629 GMT 22 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said on Friday [22 April] that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia resolutely urges a political and peaceful solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and supports Russia's principled and objective stand on the crisis in ex-Yugoslav territory. In talks with a delegation of the Russian parliament's lower house [State Duma], Kontic said that Russia's efforts have prevented the escalation of the fighting in Bosnia and underscored that the further continuation of the international sanctions against Yugoslavia practically prolongs the crisis in the former Yugoslav territory.

The head of the Russian parliamentary delegation, Nikolay Bezbirodov, said that the aim of the visit is to see for themselves the situation in Yugoslavia and the developments in Bosnia, and thus enable the lower house of the Russian parliament to make objective and principled decisions. Bezbirodov, who is deputy chairman of the parliamentary Defence Committee, said that he lower house is aware that the sanctions should be lifted and that they do not contribute to the resolution of the crisis in ex-Yugoslav territory. He said that the lower house is opposed to the use of military power in the settlement of the Bosnian crisis and that all conflicts should be resolved through negotiations, in a peaceful way.

The Russian delegation also met with the Speaker of the Yugoslav Parliament's lower house, Radoman Bozovic, who said that peace in Bosnia should be established immediately along the separation lines and then that all international institutions should be engaged to take part in political talks on all open issues. He said that the peace process requires the objective and equal treatment of the Serb people, on the same footing as all the other warring sides. Pointing out that it is senseless to further maintain the sanctions against Yugoslavia, the Russian delegation said that a legal project on their lifting had been drafted in the lower house, but that the procedure had been halted for the present due to the deterioration of the situation in Gorazde.

Serbia

Karadzic, Akashi, Milosevic Meet in Belgrade

'Absolute Cease-Fire' Agreement

LD2204213794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2118 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—The president of the Bosnian Serb republic, Radovan Karadzic, and the UN special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, and his aides reached an agreement late this evening, after almost 10 hours of talks, on an absolute cease-fire in the Gorazde area, which is to come into force at 1000 GMT tomorrow. It was also agreed that the Serbian forces would withdraw heavy weapons from Gorazde to a distance from which, as Yasushi Akashi said this evening, it would not be possible to hit the town. An agreement on the completely free movement of humanitarian convoys and the evacuation of the wounded from Gorazde was also reached. It has been announced that the talks would resume at 0700 GMT tomorrow, with the same people attending.

Talks End With 'Success'

LD2304134894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—The two-day talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, and Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, and their aides ended in Belgrade today with complete success. This has been confirmed by the main participants in the Belgrade meeting—Milosevic, Akashi, and Karadzic. In a brief statement for journalists after today's second round of talks, the Serbian president expressed satisfaction with the success of the talks between UN representatives and the republic of Srpska.

"I believe that a big step has been made toward peace," Milosevic said and added: "In the future, the Republic of Serbia will continue to lend support to peaceful solutions to the Yugoslav crisis through negotiations because we believe that this path has no alternative, and it is the only one which leads to such a solution." Yasushi Akashi also expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks, stressing that "a possibility has been created to avoid the crisis." He expressed gratitude to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for the initiative which resulted in the two-day meeting in Belgrade. Akashi said that he is satisfied with the readiness to cooperate on the part of the Bosnian Serb representatives, especially Karadzic.

According to Akashi, it was agreed over the past two days that the Serbian forces should withdraw to three kilometers from the center of Gorazde. "We are planning to deploy peace forces around that town as early as this afternoon. I am convinced that in that respect we will have full cooperation for the free movement of the peace forces on their way to Gorazde before the end of the day."

Republic of Srpska president Radovan Karadzic's statement was in the same vein. He said that the Serbian forces will withdraw to three kilometers from Gorazde and that relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] have been fully normalized. If there is peace in Gorazde, and peace forces are deployed there, that is, if the area is demilitarized and the possibility of a Muslim offensive removed, we can hope for a total peace, the president of the Serb Republic said in conclusion.

The initiative for the two-day meeting in Belgrade was launched by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who based it on the firm conviction that the crisis can be solved through negotiations and not through escalation of the war. Milosevic suggested that the representatiaves of the United Nations and of the republic of Srpska should discuss three issues: the normalization of relations between the republic of Srpska and UNPROFOR, an end to the conflict around Gorazde, and an agreement on a cessation of hostilities throughout the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Milosevic's proposal was accepted and a full accord was reached on six issues. There is no doubt that the most important agreement is the one on the immediate and total cease-fire in and around Gorazde. Under the agreement, the cease-fire was to come into force at noon today. The agreement on the normalization of relations between the republic of Srpska and UNPROFOR is also of great importance, as well as the consensus that an agreement on a cease-fire throughout the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina must be reached.

The question now is: Whose turn is it to make a move after the Belgrade agreement? Everything indicates that the conclusion is that it is the Bosnian Muslims. The wish of only one side is not enough for a cease-fire, nor is it enough for a war. In a certain way, NATO made a move out of turn by issuing fresh threats and ultimatums, and only to one side—the Serbian side.

Milosevic, Akashi, Karadzic Comment

AU2304152094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] The talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, and Serbian Republic President Radovan Karadzic that were held in Belgrade for several hours ended around noon today. These talks, which were held at the initiative of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, began yesterday afternoon. Following the talks, President Milosevic made a brief statement:

[Begin recording] [Milosevic] I am very glad that the talks between representatives of the United Nations and the Serbian Republic were successful. I think that a major step toward peace has been made. In the future as well, Serbia will continue to support a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis through negotiations, because we think that there is no alternative and that this is the only way to achieve such a solution. Thank you very much.

[Correspondent Jelena Radovanov] Yasushi Akashi also addressed the correspondents.

[Akashi, in English fading into Serbo-Croatian report] I think that through cooperation among all participants in these long talks, we managed to avoid an even bigger crisis, said UN Yasushi Akashi. I am very satisfied with the results. I am grateful to President Milosevic for his initiative to hold such a meeting. I am also very pleased by the cooperativeness that representatives of the Bosnian Serbs, beginning with Radovan Karadzic, have shown, Yasushi Akashi said, and added that it was agreed that the Serbs would withdraw 3 km away from Gorazde by midnight and for heavy weaponry to be withdrawn by Tuesday [26 April] at midnight.

It is our intention, Yasushi Akashi went on to say, that the first United Nations Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] units be deployed this afternoon. I have received assurances that full cooperation will be ensured regarding the peace forces' free passage to Gorazde as soon as possible, but before the end of the day. Yasushi Akashi added that other protected zones were also discussed. However, being confronted with the crisis around Gorazde, we have done all that was in our power to solve it. The result should be satisfactory to all interested sides, special envoy Yasushi Akashi concluded after the talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Republic of Srpska president Radovan Karadzic held this morning.

[Radovanov] Here is what republic of Srpska president Radovan Karadzic told the correspondents:

[Karadzic] Today's round was in fact held only to establish more precisely the things that we achieved yesterday. I am pleased that we and Akashi are on the road to success again. I hope that we are going to continue along that road until we completely conclude a cessation of hostilities. In this respect, Akashi is very spirited and very capable, and I think we are going to achieve good....[pauses] We set certain stipulations today regarding this 3-km zone in Gorazde.

[Unidentified correspondent] Can you tell us some things [words indistinct]?

[Karadzic] I beg your pardon?

[Unidentified correspondent] Will relations with UNPROFOR be (?resumed)?

[Karadzic] Yes, relations with UNPROFOR have been normalized as we need them if we want to establish peace, especially since both sides have realized that it is impossible to do anything with interrupted relations.

[Correspondent] Could you tell us something about the modalities of yesterday's agreement?

[Karadzic] Yesterday's agreement envisages something that we discussed on several occasions within the past 10 days, and that is how to establish a criterion for the 3-km zone. In the center of Gorazde, since there are both Serbs and Muslims there, UNPROFOR will be responsible for taking care of the Serbs. It will take care of the Muslims as well, and according to the Security Council resolution, they must not provoke or shoot at the Serbian side.

If peace and the United Nations will be there—if this is a model that is not identical to the Sarajevo one but similar to it—we may hope for a complete peace in the Gorazde zone.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] that model be applied to other protected zones. What do you think?

[Karadzic] If the zones are demilitarized—that is, if any possibility of provocations and offensives from protected zones is prevented—then we are then ready to accept this. Had Gorazde been demilitarized, there would have been no Muslim offensive and there would have been no Serbian counteroffensive. Why did we not attack Srebrenica? Because, from Srebrenica, we are exposed to provocations alone and not an offensive. If the Muslims launched an offensive from Srebrenica, then naturally a Serbian offensive would result. We have to ensure that it is established who is to be blamed for the war—that is, who started the offensives. Counteroffensives are a legitimate reply to offensives.

[Radovanov] Yesterday's first round of marathon talks, which lasted almost 10 hours, ended with a complete agreement of the representatives of the United Nations and the republic of Srpska on the most important points that were proposed by Slobodan Milosevic, the host of the meeting. What is involved is above all an agreement on the momentary and complete cease-fire in and around Gorazde, which comes into force at noon today. One UNPROFOR battalion will be deployed in the region 3 km away from the center of Gorazde on both banks of the Drina River. It has also been agreed that heavy weaponry be withdrawn from that area or be placed under UNPROFOR's control. A very important segment of yesterday's agreement is the complete normalization of relations between UNPROFOR and the republic of Srpska. [end recording]

Statements on Cease-Fire Accord

LD2204232594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2211 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—After over nine hours of uninterrupted talks between Serb President Slobodan Milosevic; Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy; and Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, with aides, a complete agreement was reached on three key points that had been proposed by the host, Slobodan Milosevic.

Milosevic made the following statement for journalists:

"A complete agreement was reached on the total normalization of relations between the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and the republic of Srpska as a prerequisite for normal cooperation in the interest of the peace process. This means that both sides are expected to fulfill the obligations they have taken upon themselves."

According to the the Serbian president, the second point took longest to discuss. It concerned an agreement on the solution to the crisis hotbed in Gorazde. "We discussed a possibility for reaching a general agreement on the cessation of hostilities in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina territory," said Milosevic, and added: "Full agreement was reached on this and support was given to the proposal that Mr. Akashi put forward to the Serb Republic representatives."

"It was all about three major issues, and agreement was reached on all of them. This is a very big step in the direction of peace, and I hope it will be very successful," the Serbian president said.

The UN secretary general's envoy, Yasushi Akashi, expressed satisfaction with today's talks and described them as positive, recalling Slobodan Milosevic's statement on full accord regarding three key issues. Yasushi Akashi put a particular stress on the importance of the agreement on Gorazde. "We agreed on the principles of an immediate and complete cease-fire, and Mr. Karadzic agreed with it. The cease-fire will come into effect tomorrow at 1000 gmt."

"We will try to deploy UN protection forces in Gorazde as soon as possible, and soon thereafter we will try to withdraw heavy artillery to a distance from which the town will not be threatened." Akashi went on to say that an agreement had been reached on the full freedom of movement for UN protection forces, the evacuation of the wounded, and the free work of humanitarian organizations. "I would like to express satisfaction with the agreement on the complete normalization of relations between UNPROFOR and the Serb side in Bosnia. Today we exchanged opinions on the future of the peace process when this crisis is over, as well as about efforts that will lead towards a global cease-fire, aiming at reaching an overall political solution later," Akashi said. He told journalists the talks would resume tomorrow morning.

Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, reminded the journalists of the beginning of the mission of UN secretary general's special envoy, drawing attention to "very successful meetings with him and very significant achievements in the Sarajevo zone."

"Unfortunate events around Gorazde, especially the bombing of Serb positions, have to a certain extent slowed down the previously positive process," said Karadzic and added, "Since 1000 GMT today we have regained our mutual trust and cooperation with the UNPROFOR, which is promising."

"In our opinion the results of today's meeting are very similar to those we had achieved on 6 February regarding the Sarajevo crisis. We hope the series of our successful meetings and achievements will continue. We positively responded to the initiative on the general cessation of hostilities," said Karadzic. "If we draw a lesson from the Gorazde crisis, as we have done from the Sarajevo crisis, and if Muslim forces do not continue with their offensive from the direction of Tuzla or some other areas, we can expect all sides in the conflict and the international community to work on what was agreed here today—the general cessation of hostilities in the entire former Bosnia-Herzegovina territory," said Radovan Karadzic in conclusion.

'Integral Text' of Agreement

LD2204230694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2204 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (Tanjug)—We are broadcasting the integral text of the agreement reached this evening in Belgrade between the delegations of the republic of Srpska and the UN, headed by Bosnian Serb president Radovan Karadzic and Yasushi Akashi, special envoy to the UN secretary general. The text of the agreement in English was forwarded to TANJUG from the office of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic:

"In the spirit of UN Security Council Resolution 913 of 21 April 1994, the UN secretary general's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia and civilian and military authorities of the Bosnian Serbs agreed on the following:

1. Immediate and total cease-fire in the territory of Gorazde and around it.

2. As the first step, the urgent deployment of one UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] battalion in a 3-km radius around the center of Gorazde and on both banks of the river Drina; that battalion will monitor and supervise from close quarters whether both sides are observing the cease-fire and will report on it. Heavy artillery will be immediately handed over to UNPROFOR or will be withdrawn to a distance from which it will not threaten the Gorazde safety zone, and in a way that will not interfere with a procedure, which will be agreed upon later in line with paragraph three of Resolution 913 [as received].

3. Guarantees for safe conditions for an urgent medical evacuation from Gorazde.

4. Complete freedom of movement for all UNPROFOR personnel and humanitarian organizations.

5. Urgent opening of talks to discuss—with good intentions—all military issues to diffuse tensions, separate forces, create safe and peaceful conditions, and meet the humanitarian needs of the civilian population.

6. The intention is that the implementation of the above measures should contribute to reinforcing efforts directed towards reaching an overall political solution all sides would approve."

Commentary Views New U.S. Priorities in Bosnia

AU2304183194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Commentary by Slavoljub Susic]

[Text] In the wake of yesterday's agreement reached between the authorities of the republic of Srpska and the prominent UN representatives for Bosnia-Herzegovina, who had ordered on 10 April the bombing of Serbian positions near Gorazde, the following question poses itself: Would this be sufficient to stop the already rushing war machinery that was started by U.S. President Clinton and the NATO Council with a new ultimatum and threats directed only at one side in this civil war—the Serbian side. The answer could be positive, provided the Muslim side also guarantees that it will comply with the unconditional cease-fire and sit at the negotiating table. As we already know, this not only depends on them but also on those who have pushed them into a war against their neighbors in the first place.

The Muslim leaders at Bascarsija [center of Sarajevo] could finally benefit from the wisdom of their religious brother in Cairo, President Sadat, who, after four wars with its neighbor Israel, signed a peace agreement at the end of the 1970's, thus refusing to fight any more for the Arab cause to the last Egyptian.

It is well known that roads and interests of not only one foreign power are crossing themselves on the territory of the former Yugoslavia that was based on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina. The interests of Germany, Austria, the Vatican, and Turkey are mostly well known from history. It is less known why the United States is investing so much passion in accusing the Serbs wherever they may be and supporting the Bosnian Muslims whatever they may be doing. This may to some extent be learned by examining the new U.S. interests in these regions, which are stronger than the interests of a small ally in the two world wars.

The U.S. strategic concept, whose implementation has been elaborated in detail by military experts, includes a general scale of U.S. national interests. They are officially established by the President and their implementation depends on public opinion, support by Congress, and priorities that are established by executive authorities. U.S. national interests are organized into four categories according to the degree of importance. Vital life interests come first, and they refer to achieving basic national security aims. In order to defend those, the United States is prepared to risk even waging a nuclear war. Second place is occupied by great interests that require from the state readiness to use armed forces for their protection, but under the condition that the conflict does not grow into a nuclear war. Ranked as third are important interests. They are a little less important than vital and great interests but are important enough for offering logistic assistance and limited support from the air and sea. Ground forces would be used only in an advisory role. It is not difficult to see that the U.S. engagement in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is in accordance with these important aims. Occupying fourth place is a single word: interest. With a view to protecting that, the United States would take certain measures—but for war—including help to allied and other friendly countries, with a possibility of engaging armed forces as well, in case of need.

It is interesting to note the further division of U.S. national interests into direct and indirect ones. Therefore, for instance, if West Europe is of vital interest for the United States, then the oil fields in the Persian Gulf and naval routes from them to Europe are indirectly of vital interest for the United States as well. Following the analogy, one can understand Washington's relationship toward the Bosnian Muslims, considering the U.S. interests to improve relations with oil-rich Islamic countries and to contract profitable businesses with them.

When mentioning the United States, the question somehow spontaneously poses itself of where Russia is and what its interests are. It is difficult to answer that question now, but it is nevertheless known that it was in the Balkans that this country was always confirming itself as a great power. Time will show whether it is renouncing this status in exchange for the benefit of cooperativeness and partnership with the United States.

Montenegro

Idea of Montenegro-Herzegovina Union Attacked

94BA0233A Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 94 p 8

[Interview with Slavko Perovic, president of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, by Marko Vukovic; place and date not given: "Anschluss of Montenegro to Herzegovina"]

[Text] *Momir Bulatovic, president of the republic, furnished the topic for the interview of the president of the Liberal Alliance [LSCG] when he hinted at a union of Montenegro with Herzegovina. The increasingly frequent demands to ban the LSCG and SDP [Social Democratic Party] [as published] made by certain members of assemblies of northern Montenegrin opstinas were of equal interest.*

[Vukovic] What would union with Herzegovina mean for Montenegro in the sense of its status as a state and to Montenegrins from the nationality standpoint?

[Perovic] It is not a question of any union with Herzegovina. It is a question of annexation or, if you like, Anschluss, of Montenegro to Herzegovina, so that Montenegro would forever, according to the conception of the Serbian expansionists, be part and parcel of the future maxi, midi, or mini Serbia. So, Montenegro must at any price be included in Serbia. Because of its coast from the geostrategic standpoint, because of its history, which, using the formula of the Montenegrins as the purest Serbs, as a people of Serbian origin, and so on, rounds out, according to the Serbs, the overwhelming truth not only of the five centuries of enslavement, but also, as far as the church is concerned, of collaboration with the Turks. When things are taken to their ultimate consequences, we learn that Montenegro is the backbone, but also the Achilles heel, of the Serbian expansionist project. Nikolaj Velimirovic put it this way: "Serbism without Montenegro is like a body without bones." So, following a de facto annexation, the Montenegrins would very quickly be presented a demand to become Serbs, since, as President Bulatovic threatened with the authority of his authoritarian state, the Montenegrins are of Serb origin, so that it is truly illogical, when they are of Serb origin, for them not to be Serbs today, but Montenegrins, a Comintern nationality invented somewhere else. In any case, when it becomes part of Herzegovina, a major change occurs in the ethnic structure to the advantage of Serbs, who will then vote for regionalization of the future unitary Serbian state, in which nothing would be left of Montenegro but the folklore. So, this is a betrayal of the national interests of Montenegro...

[Vukovic] One gets the impression that the development of events in Bosnia, I am referring above all to the U.S. initiative to create a Muslim-Croat federation, which would then enter into a confederation with the Republic of Croatia, could favor the suggested integration.

[Perovic] It is my impression that the Americans and Russians have taken over Bosnian territory. The Russian side, make no mistake about it, is cooperating with the Americans. It is merely helping Milosevic and Karadzic to celebrate every defeat they experience, in keeping with Serbian tradition. The entire world saw Karadzic's celebration after withdrawal under the NATO threat. And it is clear on this occasion that if Yeltsin had not made the request, Karadzic and Mladic would have given NATO a kick in the rear. It is my belief that Bosnia will be buttoned up, that the confederation will turn out to have been only a lure to join the negotiations. I am convinced that Bulatovic "fired off" Herzegovina only in order to throw out a new bone for this unhappy people to gnaw on, a trick to make it forget the fact that it is imprisoned and that this was done to it by the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian-Serbian separatists, who have made of it their own reservation on which, so they hope, they will be the chiefs for a long time yet....

[Vukovic] Many refer to Mr. Bulatovic's statement as an open claim to territory of neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has been internationally recognized. How do you assess the effect of that act on the attitude of the international community towards Montenegro?

[Perovic] The idea of union with Herzegovina has the additional goal of destroying any thought of any Montenegrin position in foreign policy. Bulatovic's move subjects Montenegro to a defeat and mockery in the international arena and will contribute to its being globally satanized once again. This is all being done intentionally in order to destroy Montenegro. The result is the same as achieved at one time by Prevlaka, then Dubrovnik, then Zhirinovsky.... This question should be put to Montenegro's foreign minister, since the ministry still has not spoken out, which might be interpreted as support for the views of Bulatovic and Djukanovic; otherwise, the moral thing to do is resign.

[Vukovic] Do you believe the idea of creating the Republic of Montenegro and Herzegovina, as they say it would be called, was conceived in the head of President Bulatovic?

[Perovic] Bulatovic and Vucurovic are excellent friends, and they are both entirely devoted to Slobodan. It is clear than an idea like this could not have been conceived in the heads of those two, since they are not here to create, but to execute. The idea is Belgrade's, the execution is Podgorica's, just as January 1989 established. If things take that course, the idea is strategic in the sense that Montenegro is killed off for good within the framework of some alliance of Serbian states, countries, cantons, or whatever they might be.

[Vukovic] How would the LSCG react if a referendum were called for unification of Montenegro with Herzegovina?

[Perovic] That referendum, if it should come about, will be carried out under the same conditions as the recent referendum on annexation of Montenegro to Serbia. We boycotted that referendum, we would boycott this one as well.

[Vukovic] What impact would that event have on interethnic relations in the republic?

[Perovic] It would heat them to the glowing point. There would be no place in this state for Montenegrins, Muslims, Albanians, and the few Croats who have remained in Montenegro. At the same time, I think that the Montenegrins would be in the worst position, since the other groupings would be protected by the international community, but it will not protect us, since, as Bulatovic says, we are of Serb origin, that is, Serbs. In that scenario even the Serbs in the People's Party will be undesirable, since the entire project was conceived as an act of destroying Montenegro's statehood, so that the question of the sea would be solved for the Serbian side once and for all. The existence of a state bothers them, since that is the means by which the sea is kept out of their complete control, regardless of whether it is a Serbian or Montenegrin state. And that is the only reason why Seselj and his office were set up in Montenegro and that is why even Kilibarda is a traitor from their standpoint.

[Vukovic] Now that we have touched upon the topic of interethnic relations, which it seems have been additionally strained by the arrests of the leaders of the SDA [Democratic Action Party], we should note that there have been more frequent demands to ban the LSCG and the SDA!

[Perovic] We are precise in our views, and they expose the Serbian expansionist project, which ultimately, or even above all, is disastrous for the Serbian people itself. We get in the way, since we are a party of the authentic liberal democratic option, that is, of the civil option; we further our objectives exclusively by democratic means, which even the world at large has recognized through my foreign political contacts, and has supported us in this. That is why we are an embarrassing opponent, that is why they need to ban us, not only because of our objective, an independent Montenegro, but because of the truth that we convey and communicate unashamedly. All the groupings in Montenegro have been armed by the government—either directly or under its tranquil eye. Those who were naive took the weapons, not realizing that weapons could not solve anything, since this is not 1784, but 1994. Those weapons have turned into a trap for those who accepted them, and the government will take advantage of this regardless of the religious, ethnic or other allegiance of those who possess them, since political accounts are settled with arrests like the arrest of the SDA, using the form of protecting the public order. Someone decided the Muslims need to be intimidated once again, perhaps pushed once again in the direction of Bulatovic, who mentioned them in such mellifluous terms at the recent congress of the DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists]. Perhaps an election is being prepared. Who knows what they are up to. I have information that something is being prepared for us and for me in particular. One would say that it is our turn. But, whatever happens, we are ready for him!

[Vukovic] Along with the "spontaneous" demands to ban the LSCG, an attempt is being made to cast your party in the image of a terrorist organization. To that end the Montenegrin ministry of internal affairs has been showing a surprising propensity toward graphomania.

[Perovic] The Montenegrin public is aware of all the government's efforts to satanize the LSCG. This has had a definite impact with a certain number of people. But we have managed to achieve the opposite result with an immense number of people. We were not taken in by the provocations, by the plants, by the offers of posts in the government, by the threats, nor will we be. We are aware that we are being infiltrated by "spies," by agents provocateurs, that at some point an agent provocateur will be activated to portray us in the light they want. We know that, we see them, it is all right. That is their technology for holding onto power, but nothing will stop us, nothing....

Government Accused of 'War Crimes'

94P20678A Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 9 Apr 94 p 6

[Text] (STA) Podgorica—The accusation leveled by the Belgrade Center for Antiwar Activities against the Montenegrin state leadership for war crimes committed against civilians, specifically refugees, no doubt seriously endangers the security and stability of that state. The accusation is plausible, based on documents signed by Nikola Pejakovic, Montenegrin minister of interior affairs. The documents state that scores of Muslim refugees arrested by the Montenegrin police last May were handed over to the Serbian police, after which they vanished without a trace.

Government, Police Said Tapping Telephones

94BA0233C Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 94 p 8

[Article by Seki Radoncic: "Into the Minister's Ear"]

[Text] The fear citizens of Montenegro have of having their phones tapped is a legacy of the communist times, but also a consequence of this government's loose use of the word "traitor" for those who do not share its political opinions. Finally, an important reason for suspicion arises from the fact that only the Montenegrin police in all of Europe are not subject to the oversight of a multiparty parliament.

It is the public's general belief that eavesdropping is done on a large scale, says Slobodan Franovic, justice secretary of the executive board of the LSCG [Liberal Alliance of Montenegro]. "It is not our view that certain agencies that exist in all states should not take advantage of certain methods which represent some departure from certain principles of human rights, such as the principles of secrecy of the mail or inviolability of other means of communication between individuals. However, this must conform to the standards that prevail in the world."

The Liberal Alliance has announced "that it will take the initiative for evaluation of the constitutionality of the Law on Internal Affairs, that is, of Article 23, under which the minister of police can order the SDB [state security service] to take steps that depart from the inviolability of the mail and allow eavesdropping."

The Constitution of Montenegro, Franovic says, provides that this can be done only on the basis of a court order. However, the present Law on Internal Affairs allows this on the basis of a decision of the minister of internal affairs. So, we want the court to evaluate this and issue a decision, that is, to establish civilian control over the work of the police. We will soon file a petition with the Constitutional Court as to whether one provision of the Law on Internal Affairs conforms to the provision of the constitution. Specifically, concerning the procedure whereby the constitution allows departure from the principle of inviolability of the mail and other communications. "I personally believe," Franovic says, "since this is more than obvious, that the Constitutional Court will find that this provision of the Law on Internal Affairs does not conform to the constitution."

Eavesdropping on Telephone Conversations

The PTT does not resist when the police monitor telephone conversations. In all the post offices in Montenegro, that is, there are separate rooms through which subscriber cables pass, where eavesdropping devices and telephone recording devices have been installed; post office employees are not allowed to enter except in special cases.

Aware of this kind of collaboration between the police and the post office, the former Democratic Party [DS] filed a criminal charge back in 1990 against several persons because of warranted suspicion they committed the crime of unauthorized eavesdropping and recording.

The basic public prosecutor's office responded to the complaint of the Democratic Party in mid-1991 by confirming that "in 26 PTT offices in Montenegro there are in fact rooms with what are called 'cable taps' in which is possible to monitor and record other people's telephone conversations." However, it also informed the plaintiff that it found no legal basis for undertaking criminal prosecution of the "suspects."

It is of interest that the basic public prosecutor's office said at the time "that the powers of the republic secretary (now minister) of police under Article 24 of the Law on Internal Affairs are too vague...."

The prosecutor's office also observed the following: The summary definition of this authority, as represented in the law, affords an opportunity for arbitrariness and willfulness on the part of the agency of the state and an erroneous assessment of the existence of grounds for invoking the authority. In the judgment of the basic public prosecutor's office, this is incompatible with basic civil rights....

The basic public prosecutor's office promised at that time that it would initiate amendment of the legislation in effect in the Montenegrin Assembly. However, that never went beyond an empty promise.

Bugging Facilities

In the meantime the police have made technical advances, and now conversations in Kolasin, Cetinje, and Danilovgrad can be monitored from Podgorica, conversations in Kotor and Tivat from Herceg-Novi, and conversations in Zabljak from Pljevlja.

In addition to eavesdropping on telephone conversations, the police frequently eavesdrop on conversations in facilities they have bugged. The bugging of facilities (offices, apartments, houses...) is done by installing highly sensitive microphones in the walls (especially under wallpaper), light fixtures, pieces of furniture, or anywhere the police imagination can think of. The bugging of a facility may be temporary or permanent, again depending on the police assessment. This method has one technical deficiency. That is, the place where the conversations are taped and recorded must not be very far from the place that is bugged. For example, if a person "subject to operational scrutiny" goes to a hotel, then through collaboration between the police and the desk clerk, he is sent to a room that is permanently bugged. Usually between eight and 10 rooms are bugged in the larger hotels. One of the hotel rooms is always "at the service" of the police, and that is the location of the "operative" who listens in and tapes conversations of the person or persons in whom the police are interested.

Policemen, depending on the need, also know how to install a hidden camera. They may use three methods at the same time: monitoring the telephone conversations, bugging the rooms, and tailing. The bugging of a room is defeated most easily by turning on the radio or TV, and turning on a water faucet has also proved an effective means of defense.

In any case, all the observations of the police, reports, taped conversations, and so on are coded separately and put in the same file. The first and last name of the "suspect" are never used as the code. So, the person, the facility, and the measure (eavesdropping or tailing), the action, and the file itself are given separate codes.

The Montenegrin SDB also monitors and records telephone conversations on behalf of the KOS [counterintelligence service]. Although by law the KOS, our sources say, is required to file a request, order and decision of the Montenegrin MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] for such "services," eavesdropping is done on no more basis than a verbal agreement between the heads of these two agencies.

The equipment which the Montenegrin MUP has for monitoring telephone conversations is nevertheless not quite as good as what the Serbian MUP has. That is, the Serbian SDB has the "5001" system, which is the most up-to-date and was purchased from the French, Germans, and English. This system allows 50 telephones to be monitored from a single point. The system also allows computer monitoring of a particular subscriber in that it prints out data on all the numbers called. This system can also block a large number of telephone lines at the same time, normally if the "security people" judge that certain people should be prevented from contacting one another by telephone. A journalist of POLITIKA has expressed the opinion that "whoever has this equipment in his hands has control of the country."

Who Is Monitored?

The Montenegrin police regularly follow all the major fairs of police equipment in the world. MONITOR has learned that Bosko Bojovic, who heads the Montenegrin SDB, attended the world's fair of police equipment, technology, and weapons two months ago in Paris. He was accompanied by a well-known Podgorica businessman, which could suggest that soon even "our"

MUP will be technically upgraded. As is natural, the price of this police equipment will be paid for by the citizens of Montenegro, and many will thus be financing eavesdropping on their own conversations.

For someone to be monitored, there must be warranted suspicion of his extremist activity, an activity aimed at bringing down the order established by the Constitution. Although they cannot be put in that group, Nikola Samardzic, former foreign minister, and then Blagoje Lucic, current federal minister, as well as Branko Abramovic, former agriculture minister in the Montenegrin Government, have been monitored, our sources say.

If it is true that current ministers have been unlawfully monitored, then this greatly strengthens the suspicion that certain opposition leaders are monitored in Montenegro. For that matter, it has already been leaked to the public that Slavko Perovic, leader of the LSCG, has been bugged and that this operation was allegedly done by the police under the code "Godfather." It is no secret at all that the eavesdropping on certain opposition politicians is spoken about openly in the other opposition parties. But what is the eavesdropping on opposition leaders compared to the bugging of Dobrica Cosic, whom the Serbian SDB "bugged," according to the press, while he was president of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]?

For the present there is no hard evidence that the police are monitoring the telephone conversations of party leaders in Montenegro. Provided, of course, the arrested leaders of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] are excluded. However, MUP personnel who work in the "ear department," we have learned, have their hands full of work and every morning put envelopes containing recorded conversations on the desk of Bosko Bojevic. He then informs Nikola Pejakovic, minister of internal affairs, about the content of the conversations and other knowledge generated by the operations.

The minister of police, our sources say, reports all the more sensitive and major operations of the MUP (which include the monitoring of important persons) to Momir Bulatovic, president of Montenegro, Mile Djukanovic, prime minister, and of course Zoran Zizic, the inevitable deputy prime minister responsible for monitoring the operation of the police. Since Montenegro is the only state in Europe that does not have a parliamentary body to oversee the work of the police, it is a closed circle.

The police were supposedly depoliticized back in 1989. We have had a chance to see what this looks like in practice by watching the TV screen when the camera showed the "depoliticized" chief of the Montenegrin SDB, Bosko Bojevic, attending a closed party congress of the incumbent party. Strange that he should not have attended the open congresses of the People's Party or the Liberals. Or perhaps he knew in advance what they would be saying and adopting there, and he did not want to waste his time?

Account of Torture of Arrested SDA Leaders

94BA0233B Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 94 p 8

[Article by Olja Obradovic: "Violence With a Government Stamp"]

[Text] Since the Superior Court in Bijelo Polje quashed the decision of the investigating judge temporarily suspending all the rights of defense counsel, on 1 March the four of them were finally able to talk to people of "Muslim faith" suspected of the grave crimes of threatening the territorial integrity of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and unauthorized possession of firearms. The conversation in the Pretrial Custody Prison in Bijelo Polje, mainly into events that occurred after the arrest, lasted from 1300 to 1700 hours. Gajo Joksimovic, investigating judge of the Bijelo Polje Superior Court, and Luka Bulatovic, warden of the Pretrial Custody Prison, attended the conversation between the defense lawyers—Branko Vukotic and Vladan Djuranovic from Podgorica and Velje Muric and Adil Nasufovic from Bijelo Polje—and their 13 clients (four hired other lawyers and another four are still at large).

All the accused—Esad Omerovic, Harun Hadzic, Rizah Burnazovic, Isad Skenderovic, Umer Hadzic, Rifat Veskovic, Hakija Muratovic, Erdzan Fetahovic, Rasim Sahman, Avdo Ciguljin, Sefket Brkovic, Sead Gec and Sabahet Spahic—confirmed that from the moment they were arrested until they were brought before the investigating judge they were subjected to almost unimaginable mental and physical torture. Every one mentioned the hood and blindfold and spoke of terrible beatings with "fists, kicks, sticks and all kinds of things on the head, soles of the feet, and the entire body."

Police Creations

Still, the reason why the conversation confined to events after the arrest took up four valuable hours of the time of the defense counsel will best be explained by excerpts from the testimony of a few of them concerning particular police inventions.

Harun Hadzic was forced to do 100 jumping jacks and kneebends. He did not get water; he had to drink from the toilet to avoid dehydration. He was beaten until the last moment, even now in the corridor as he was being brought before the investigating judge. He was not allowed to sleep for three days. During interrogation he was exposed to a strong floodlight and high temperature thanks to a device he described as an "asbestos cap." Exposed to electric shocks, that is, to a device with which they touched him behind the ear, causing a strong pain and twitching of the legs. The electric shocks and beating lasted at least 48 hours. He suspects that he was taken to Foca, since the people who drove him there threatened to turn him over to Turtle. He described the building where he was interrogated as a "labyrinth of many rooms, booths, and bars." It seemed to him that the room in which he was tortured was lined with red velvet. They threatened to kill him the whole time.

Esad Omerovic, a mental patient who was discharged from the army in the care of a guardian, was kicked and beaten and hit with sticks over his entire body and head. The defense counsel had the impression that he neither knew where he was nor why.

After his arrest Rizah Burzanovic, hooded and blindfolded, was driven in an unknown direction "an hour and a half or two hours from Pljevlja." They beat and kicked him over his entire body and hit him with sticks. They did not allow him to sleep for three days. They threatened to kill him. The investigating judge interrogated him at night.

The Middle Ages

Umer Hadzic is certain that he was in Foca, which he recognized from the window of the room in which he was tortured. Along the way his escorts stopped the vehicle to stage an attempted escape in order to kill him. They fired shots in the air around him and beat him as he attempted to stay near the vehicle. They told him to prepare to be shot. When they reached Foca, he received numerous blows as he ran the gauntlet. The man they referred to as "Vojvoda" [commander] told them not to beat him since he was a friend of Lazo Boricic, former head of state security. Another man, who he thinks from his speech was a Bosnian, threatened to kill him and avenge his brother whom the Muslims had "roasted alive." He was "treated" with electric shocks over his entire body, especially the genitals. He spent at least two days tied to a radiator in a position that did not allow him to sit or stand. They threatened they would kill him, and also said his children would pay if he did not confess. He says that he would recognize some of the people who tortured him.

They kicked and beat Erdzan Fetahovic and hit him with sticks. They told him that they had also picked up his wife ("right now they are lining up for her in the other room").

They asked Avdo Ciguljin whether he could count to 10. When he said he could, they asked whether he knew how many blows he had received. When he said he did not know, they retorted that he should count from the beginning. He counted 100 blows on the soles of his feet and 50 to his head. They forced a stick into him, first into his anus and then into his mouth.

Sefket Brkovic's words "If once again I had to go through all I have gone through, I would find a way to end my life" are perhaps the best testimony to the sadism of the torturers representing such an important state agency that it is entrusted with care for the security of citizens as well as the "inviolability of the physical and mental integrity of the individual," even though he has been detained on suspicion of the most serious crimes. If perhaps the top leadership of the Montenegrin government is not privy to the secrets of police treatment of imprisoned Muslims, as this issue of MONITOR comes off the press, the defense counsel will be trying to inform it firsthand.

Under the Constitution and Law

The superior court in Bijelo Polje, and we have to hope for an honest trial, will decide whether these people took it upon themselves "to divide Montenegro and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." At the same time the president of all the citizens of Montenegro must fulfill his promise made in his speech to his party's congress that "the law-governed, democratic, and civil state" will treat them "strictly under the constitution and law and without discrimination." Just that, nothing more.

Nevertheless, even the way in which the investigation has been conducted does not instill confidence in the specific institutions of the "law-governed, civil, and democratic state." A majority of those detained told the defense lawyers that the attitude towards them during pretrial detention was correct, given the circumstances, but also that out of fear of new mistreatment they had repeated the testimony extorted from them by the police when they were examined by the investigating judge.

The presence of prison personnel when the accused are interrogated is unthinkable and contrary to the Law on Criminal Procedure. The decision to suspend all rights of defense counsel, issued 1 February, was supposedly rescinded no later than 4 February. However, it was delivered to the defense counsel only on 21 February, so that for 17 days the defense was prevented from doing its job. While the defense lawyers were allowed to examine the papers in the case for the first time only on 22 February, some of the government media were given information from police and investigation files much earlier. Medical examinations were conducted only 12 days after the suspects were detained, when visible traces of the abuse might have already disappeared. The defense lawyers were informed tardily of certain actions in the investigation even after the suspension was lifted. In view of the presence of the investigating judge, the visits of the defense lawyers to the accused were limited by his time. It was not even possible to photocopy the file, since the machine in the court was broken, and they were not allowed to take the file out even in the company of a court employee.

MONITOR nevertheless has learned one piece of good news from confidential sources: The superior court in Bijelo Polje has rejected the motion of the superior public prosecutor to turn certain investigatory operations in these cases over to the police, although the cases have already been turned over to the court.

Kosovo

Albanians Urge Inclusion of Province in Summit

AU2204205094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] A communique by the government of republic of Kosova states that an international summit on Bosnia, proposed by Russian President Yeltsin and agreed upon by U.S. President Clinton, must include the Kosova question. The communique further states that peace can never be achieved in the Balkans as long as the Serbian repression against 2 million Albanians of Kosova is not stopped and the independence of the republic of Kosova is not ensured. The government of the republic of Kosova asks the United Nations, the United States, the European Union, and Russia to earnestly include the question of Kosova in the peace process.

Bukoshi Issues Similar Proposal

AU2204193394 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 341 in English 22 Apr 94

[Unattributed report: "Bukoshi: Future Peace Talks on Balkans Should Include Kosova"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosova]

[Text] In a statement issued yesterday, prime minister of the republic of Kosova Dr. Bujar Bukoshi said that an international summit on Bosnia, proposed Tuesday by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and endorsed by President Clinton should be broadened to also include the Kosova question. "Peace will never come to the Balkans until the repression by Serbia of 2 Million Albanians in Kosova is lifted and independence is granted to the republic of Kosova. The Kosova issue must be in the agenda of any international conference on the Balkans." Dr. Bukoshi called on the United Nations, the U.S., the European Union to fully include Kosova in the peace process. "No true peace can occur in the Balkans until there is an end to the brutal Serbian repression which continues unabated in our republic," the statement says.

Rugova Discusses Troop Movements, Bosnia Talks

AU2204193494 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 341 in English 22 Apr 94

[Unattributed report: "From President Rugova's Press Conference"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosova]

[Text] "The past week was characterized by harsh Serbian terror, so that it is very difficult to give exact figures of the victims subjected to this repression, which has been taking place for several years in Kosova," president of the republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said speaking to reporter today in Prishtina [words indistinct] places throughout Kosova, he said. Imer Bala, a member of the Kosova Parliament, [words indistinct] because arms were requested from him, President Rugova added.

Dr. Rugova told the reporters that military movements have been reported along the border with Albania in Vermnica village and elsewhere. He also said that additional military units had been deployed in Dragash, a town bordering on Albania. President Rugova expressed his sympathy on the killing by the Serbian border guards of two Albanian citizens last week. "They were unarmed. It means that the border between Kosova and Albania continues to be the last 'Berlin Wall,' a very dangerous wall in Europe," he said.

The persecution of the Albanian political activists continues unabated, said Dr. Rugova and mentioned the beginning of an another framed political process against 14 Albanians, which like the previous ones is aimed at discrediting the peaceful movement of the Kosova Albanians.

Continuing, President Rugova called on the international community to take into consideration the very grave situation in Kosova which may escalate. He condemned the ill-treatment of Ms Adelheid Felicke-Tiemann, a journalist with the "Deutsche Welle." She was ill-treated by the police while in Kosova.

Commenting on the latest developments in Gorazde, President Rugova said it was a tragedy and the international institutions should act more decisively to halt it. "If violence and aggression are legalized in Bosnia, many problems will emerge in the Balkans and Europe."

President Rugova hailed President Clinton's plan on wider intervention in Bosnia, and expressed hope that the international community would do everything to prevent the tragedy and [passage indistinct].

If a summit on the highest level, USA-EU [words indistinct] definitely included in the talks and solution, as Kosova was part of former Yugoslav federation, a federal unit equal to other federal units," President Rugova remarked.

Ending his observations, President Rugova reiterated his call for an international protection in Kosova.

President Rugova replied to many questions put by journalists.

Rugova Praises Clinton's 'Commitment'

AU2204200494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] At a news conference given in Prishtina today, Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, said that the Kosovar-Albanian border, where the concentration of the Serbian Army forces continues, is becoming more and more dangerous for the Albanians and expressed his regret over the murder of the two unarmed Albanian nationals. For more, Ramadan Mucolli from Prishtina:

[Mucolli] Speaking about the international community's stance toward the Kosova issue, President Rugova said that in face of the situation prevailing in Gorazde, Kosova was mentioned as a possible target of the crisis in former Yugoslavia, which requires a solution. He mentioned the viewpoints of the U.S. Secretary of State Christopher on the danger of the explosion of war in Kosova and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] if the efforts for the realization of the project on Greater Serbia still continue.

President Rugova hailed the commitment of President Clinton for a broad intervention in Bosnia in order to defend security areas. On this occasion, he drew the attention that if violence and repression are legalized, there will be problems in the Balkans and the whole of Europe and that the principles of the international institutions and the United Nations not to reward violence and aggression, but the efforts for peace, agreement, and understanding will be devolved.

President Rugova said that if a top international summit is held with the United States, the European Union, and Russia on the solution of problems in former Yugoslavia, we will persistently ask that Kosova unfailingly be part of this solution, because it was a federal unit of former Yugoslavia with equal status to other units and, being a nerve center of the crisis, it will be a continuous danger if not solved on the basis of the political will of the people and in the Balkan context.

President Rugova reiterated his demand that Kosova be placed under the protection of the international community and expressed his hope that the peaceful policy of Albanians will be rewarded.

Police Pursue Albanian Youths, Raid Homes

AU2304205894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] With the repressive apparatus installed in Kosova and after the commotion about the alleged arrest of members of the defense ministry of the republic of Kosova, the Belgrade regime is now attempting to find soldiers for its army. Based on this pretext, the Serbian police have intensified their punitive actions in many Kosova dwelling places. Mehmet Haziri has more details:

[Haziri] Albanian youths have particularly become targets of the Serbian police in Kosova. They are being pursued on two pretexts—to be recruited into the service of the so-called Yugoslav Army and for allegedly having trained in various military centers in Albania. The Kosova Information Center reports that after protesting the alleged arrest of members of the Defense Ministry of the republic of Kosova, Belgrade has recently been attempting to invent the soldiers of this ministry. Thus, the Serbian Prosecutor's Office and Peje District Court decided to pre-imprison [paraburgim] youths Bedrush Halilaj and Florin Golaj from Lipovec in Gjakove on the pretext that upon instructions from representatives of the Kosova government in Tirana, they have become militarily efficient in Labinot in Elbasan, with the aim of starting an armed action in Kosova at the proper moment.

Another month of imprisonment has been defined for those youths, whom the Serbian police arrested in early April. During April, the Serbs in the Kosova prosecutor's offices and courts called for pre-imprisonment for many Albanian youths on the pretext that they allegedly carried out military training in Albania. In the wake of pursuing Albanian youths, Serbian recruiters issued draft notices to 125 youths in the Malisheve commune this week. On the other hand, repressive actions by the police has spread to other strata of the Albanian population. On the pretext of searching for weapons or other invented schemes, police expeditions during the last two days have raided dozens of families in the communes of Mitrovice, Viti, Kamenice, Kline, Peje, and Lipjan.

In Okllap in Lipjan, the Serbian police confiscated all of the pedagogical inspection documents of the education counsels in Ferizaj.

Serbs Continue Raids; 'Torture' Kills Albanian

AU2204203394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] The Serbian army and police continue to raid Albanian families throughout Kosova. Meanwhile, it is reported that an Albanian national died from the consequences of torture in a command post of the Serbian police. Let us follow a telephone report by Mehmet Haziri:

[Haziri] Recently, the cases in which the Serbian Army has been launching new adventures by helping the police with the daily terrorization of the Albanians have become more frequent. The Information Commission of the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] in Han i Elezit reports that the Serbian soldiers stationed in this locality, in collaboration with the police, raided six Albanian families in Dine village. It is also reported that the soldiers stationed in the barracks in Han i Elezit have been maltreating the Albanian citizens of the nearby villages for days on end.

The LDK confirms that raids and maltreatments of Albanians were reported in Mitrovice and Gjilan communes. The bus station in Mitrovice has long become a place where the Albanians are tortured for no reason. Thus, in the evening of 20 April, the police caused serious body wounds to two youths who were found in this location. Under the pretext of searching for arms, several families in the villages of Zhegel, Lladove, and Llashtice in Gjilan were raided and some persons were maltreated, among whom was the 83-year-old man Shuaip Ajeti. Mehmet Hajrullahu died in Zhegel village in Gjilan last night and there are no doubts that he is a victim of police torture.

The LDK Information Commission in Gjilan has reported that two weeks ago, the deceased was gravely tortured by the police on the pretext of handing over weapons.